

WASHINGTON CRACKDOWN
ON GOLDWATERITES

50 CENTS

CDC

OCTOBER 5, 1965

NATIONAL REVIEW

*A Journal
of Fact and
Opinion*

*Are Nations (including the U.S.?)
Washed Up?* _____ **HENRY PAOLUCCI**

*An Untold (and Unsavory) Story
about the Young Karl Marx in
America* _____ **MAX GELTMAN**

*'Social Security' (for Non-Hysterical
Readers Only)* _____ **JACK BROOKNER**

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PETER ON COMMUNIST PRIESTS IN COLOMBIA ♦ BURNHAM ON THE
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC ♦ ALSO JEFFREY HART, FRANCIS RUSSELL



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In This Issue . . .

→ Prof. Henry Paolucci asks if the end has really come for the nation-state, as the Liberals have so often said. He traces the successes of balance-of-power diplomacy as practiced by nation-states for the three centuries preceding World War I, describes how ideologists like Wilson and Lenin midwifed the birth of supranationalism, and ends with an assertion, a warning, and a prediction, all worthily phrased by the N.Y. Conservative Party's 1964 senatorial candidate . . . As we begin to add the cost of Medicare to the social security payroll deductions, we should pause, says Mr. **Jack Brookner**, and inquire whether the basic structure is strong enough to sustain the proposed superstructure. Mr. Brookner, a student at the University of Georgia, insists on telling us he nominated Wm. Buckley for president at the Emory Mock Convention last April . . . Mr. **Max Geltman**, a specialist on current history and Jewish affairs, describes a fascinatingly obscure event of a century ago, the series of articles written for the *Tribune* (Horace Greeley, etc.) by "K.M."—the byline for Karl Marx and/or Friedrich Engels. Were these fleeing diatribes a headwater of social anti-Semitism in the U.S.? . . . "**Robert Peter**," our pseudonym south of the border, tells about the Communist "priests" who seek to convert the masses' traditional respect for the Church into social-revolutionary zeal. The technique was outlined in a manual published in Peking several years ago, in very good Spanish.

→ Wm. F. Buckley Jr. remarks that the general subject of internal security is not only unfashionable to talk about, but has become apparently unfashionable to do anything about. Unless the man in question happens to have voted for Barry. . . **James Burnham** takes stock of the situation in the Dominican Republic. It did turn out to be what it threatened to be at the start, and the resulting conflict did favor (as of now) the Softs. Attn: Wm. Fulbright . . . Under the banner of "The Open Question," where the editors strive to negotiate their more elaborate divergencies, the question of Medicare comes up again, with **William Rickenbacker** commenting on the weighty points made by Mr. Burnham in the Aug. 24 issue.

→ Author, editor, columnist, Mr. **M. Stanton Evans** reviews *The Accidental Century*, by self-styled socialist Michael Harrington, and exposes its central quirk: Harrington acts and thinks and writes as if America didn't exist. He illustrates his thesis with critiques of European writers, entirely ignoring the constitutive literature of our own nation. . . Prof. **Jeffrey Hart** finds Donald Morris's history of the Zulu War "a must for Empire buffs." If they have strong stomachs . . . **Sir Shane Leslie** wonders if even the finest biography can vivify Asquith . . . **Carol** (Mrs. Robert) **Bauman** takes George Catlin to task for his mental misdemeanors, excluding his glorious fight to repeal the 18th Amendment . . . And **Francis Russell** has sighted flicks and sunk same. After a piercing note on the differences between unreal movies and the real stage, he tells what Rita Tushingham can be and should be, but unhappily in *The Knack*, isn't.



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TO
THE
EDITOR



From Petersen with Thanks

Thanks to all my good friends!

As for running for mayor, I am not a son of New York and cannot make glorious summer of the winter of your discontent. New York is a nice place to visit, but I wouldn't want to be its chief magistrate.

Rockeville, Md.

SVEND PETERSEN

Re Lincoln without Rhetoric

I am disturbed by several of the arguments of Frank S. Meyer's "Lincoln without Rhetoric" [NR, Aug. 24]. If it anticipates the theme of his new book on American history, the work will surely arouse interest as a myth-buster — though the myth busted will be that American conservatives are united in their determination to preserve this American national union of ours at all costs. . . . Mr. Meyer is very hard on Lincoln for having escalated his conflict to the proportions of a total war, to be won at any cost. . . . Perhaps it is true that the Union might have been preserved by doing less than Lincoln did to preserve it (as it may be argued that Japan might have surrendered as readily had the United States not used its atomic weapons); but surely we cannot now argue that if freeing slaves, or enslaving freemen, or escalating into total war is necessary for the safety of the nation, a responsible chief executive could conceivably shrink from pursuing any or all such courses of action. In his tragic decision, Lincoln upheld the traditional view that the safety of the nation is the highest law. If the nation goes, the checks and balances check and balance nothing, the Constitution constitutes nothing, the rights of citizens as citizens are deprived of substance. . . .

President Lincoln, in word and deed, maintained the "conservative" view that all other earthly values entertained by Americans must be subordinated (willingly, if possible, but by force, if need be) to the safety of our nation.

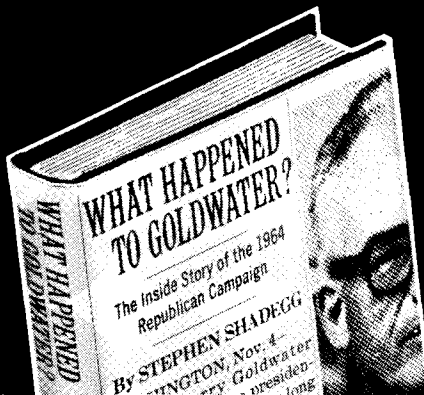
It would be a mistake to leave Liberal readers of this journal with a false hope that there could be any price payable on earth which conservatives would not pay to preserve this national union.

New York, N.Y.

HENRY PAOLUCCI

Lincoln's total war policy was unforgivable. But in addition to Grant's butchery in the Wilderness and the terrible rape of Georgia and the Carolinas by Sherman which Mr. Meyer alluded

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Well, what did happen to Barry Goldwater? And to the great crusade he launched? Half a million dedicated conservatives (including just about everyone who is now reading this page) marched beside him to bring our country back to its senses. What went wrong?

FEW MEN are as qualified as Stephen C. Shadegg to give an accurate report of the unlit corners of the Goldwater campaign. He managed Goldwater's two Senate campaigns, served as Regional Director for the Western States in 1964. Barry Goldwater once said: "Steve Shadegg knows more about me than any other writer in the country."

Only a friend could write this book; only a *close* friend would dare to. It is a record of soaring hopes—and frustrating blunders. Heartwarming sacrifice — and bitter infighting. It is the very flesh and blood of political campaigning at the top level. No political pro has ever written so candidly

Shadegg has worked in 13 Republican Senatorial races, found Goldwater much the most effective and cooperative campaigner. But as the time for a decision drew near, Shadegg sensed a deep uneasiness in his old friend. Once a candidate, Goldwater seemed a changed man. His easy good humor almost vanished. The burdens of his new role pressed down on him. Men around Goldwater saw the sacrifice he was making. He loved the Senate, only went for the big job because millions of us begged him to.

Shadegg traces Goldwater's whole career for background, reviews the '64 primaries, really zeroes in on the campaign months. He makes you privy to scores of significant events never reported till now. He discusses over 600 key people in the Goldwater campaign — people you yourself may have worked with — and he records with a most unpolitical candor his views on many key figures in the Goldwater high command:

The Secret Meeting of September, 1963. Scheduled to attend: Goldwater, William Buckley, Brent Bozell, Dr. Charles Kelley. Surprise (and uninvited?) guests: Denison Kitchel and William Baroody — who, Shadegg maintains, were by now the new palace guard eager to keep Goldwater away from his old advisors. The story, leaked to the *Times*, reported that the Goldwater-for-President movement had "just repelled a boarding party from the forces who supposedly occupy the narrow territory to the right of the Arizona Senator". Who leaked the story? Shadegg lines up the clues.

New Hampshire. 5 ways to lose a primary. Peter O'Donnell's prophetic words. Dishonesty on TV: the infamous film clip by the Lodge forces. Raymond Moley's shrewd counsel.

Rus Walton's Startling Survey — another exclusive in these pages. Amazing index of American voters' political naivete. (Only 10% found LBJ too Liberal — while 4% found Goldwater too Liberal!) Survey also shows gut issues that really stir voters, points up rich opportunities for conservatives.

The "Think Tank" on the 3rd Floor. How they kept Goldwater isolated. Bitter battle between the Think Tank and farm-belt Goldwaterites: Think Tank wins — and Goldwater loses every farm state.

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to, he might also want to add Sheridan's scorched earth sweep through the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. Like Sherman's march, Sheridan's campaign was politically inspired. Lincoln knew that unless the Union armies started winning, McClellan might well defeat him in the 1864 election. Therefore, he ordered the armies unleashed and the destruction they wrought, mostly against innocent civilians and private property, surpassed in horror and ferocity any previous battles of the war, at least insofar as the damage done to the nation and to civilian populations. But they provided Lincoln with his election victory. He defeated McClellan, who was in favor of a more conciliatory policy toward the South, by some 400,000 votes out of 4,000,000 cast.

I agree that Lincoln's reign was the beginning of the end of constitutional government in the United States. But I have always felt that if only South Carolina had waited a year or two before firing on Fort Sumter the war might have been avoided. The South Carolinians acted much too precipitously by igniting hostilities a scant month after Lincoln's inauguration. Legally, they were within their rights to secede from the Union. But morally they had an obligation to hold off until they could perceive more precisely the actual results of Lincoln's presidency.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

WILLIAM J. GILL

I believe the least wise of us with some understanding of American history have long felt that slavery would have died a natural death and perhaps a

(Continued on p. 888)



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- ★ *James Burnham's round-up of the present position of the Anti-Communist world.*
- ★ *Frank Meyer's crystallization of Principles and Heresies.*
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The WEEK

● *Riddle*: How can you tell a Great Society man from an old fogey? *Answer*: Ask him to identify "U.S. Grant." If the answer is "a Civil War general" he's a certified o.f.; if he says "a federal subsidy," he's G.S. for sure.

● Paul O'Dwyer's campaign for the Democratic nomination for mayor of New York was, to put it mildly, a dismal affair. He operated out of a fifth-floor loft on Manhattan's gamy West Side and drew most of his support from friends, family and name (his older brother having once been mayor). His showing primary night (28,000 votes of 738,000 cast, far back, fourth in a field of four) was so bad as to suggest he would have done better not to campaign at all. Imagine the general surprise election night, then, when who should walk into O'Dwyer headquarters, unannounced and unexpected, but Senator Robert F. Kennedy. After uttering a few amiable banalities ("Paul O'Dwyer has a lot to offer this city") and attracting every television hookup in town, the Senator proceeded (in a precisely ascending order of vote totals) to the Ryan (113,000), Screvane (269,000), and Beame (328,000: The Winner!) camps—the television cameras chugging every step of the way. It was a magnificent grandstand play, reminiscent not so much of the Senator's late brother as of LBJ in Atlantic City. More important, it served notice on all concerned that, with the defeat of Screvane, Mayor Wagner's man, the New York Democratic Party is Bobby Kennedy's party.

● "Billed as a top gun on the rubber-chicken circuit, Lindsay comes across not as Gregory Peck; rather as Lee Marvin." The voice you hear is Noel Parmentel Jr. as he dissects Rep. John Lindsay, the GOP candidate for Mayor of New York. "But I doubt," says Parmentel, "that John will ever wind up at Boot Hill or up Salt River. More likely he will shoot himself in the foot, figuratively speaking. His forensic flourishes are more free form than 'free spirit'-ed. Lindsayese is a variety of Stengelese Esperanto, but from a Casey who might have been invited along with, say, Dick Nixon and George Babbitt to fill out a panel of the Kingfish, Henry van Porter and Brother Crawford at a Mystic Knights of the Sea civil-rights seminar. . . ." If that just wets the whistle, the whole outpouring can be savored in the current (October) issue of *Esquire*, under the title, "John V. Lindsay: Less Than Meets the Eye."

● Mayor Robert Wagner, with the timing for which

he is justly famous, managed to push through fluoridation for New York City, without benefit of referendum, just as a) the city started running out of water and b) scientific opinion started veering on the question of the advisability of fluoridating municipal water supplies. The first straw came a year or so ago when the Science Editor of the very-much-In *Saturday Review* came out against fluoridation of municipal waters on constitutional grounds. SR has since returned to the attack by printing at some length a report from the reputable *Massachusetts Physician* that thus capsulated the anti-fluoridation civil rights argument: "Fluoride can be administered by dentistry, tooth paste, with vitamin drops or in gum. The individual could in this way take it or leave it. Legislators should encourage the use of fluoride by educational campaigns. The elements of coercion should be removed. Education has been successful in polio and triple vaccine inoculation campaigns. Coercion invites opposition. The fact that we are in favor of fluoridation is beside the point." Welcome, fellow crackpots!

● Robert Coate's overwhelming election as Democratic chairman of California is a significant though not decisive victory for Governor Pat Brown over increasingly muscular leftist elements within the state's majority party. Coate's first official act was to demand the resignation of Simon Casady, president of the militant California Democratic Council and a persistent critic, from leftward, of President Johnson's Vietnam policy. Casady refused to resign, and his willingness to campaign for Governor Brown may bring on an armistice. The Democrats will need it. For, in the inaugural words of State Chairman Coate, "It is now clear that Ronald Reagan will be our major opponent in 1966. Sen. Kuchel will not run. Even if he filed he cannot beat Reagan in the Republican primary. And no one else is even close."

● Next week Pope Paul VI will visit these shores in a gesture doubly historic. It will be, we all know, the first visit ever made to the Western Hemisphere by a Roman pontiff. And it may also come to mark the first public acknowledgment of an important shift in the structure of the Catholic Church. Coming when the American prelates are for the first time visible and effective as a bloc in a major church gathering (on the issues of "modernization," in particular of "freedom of religious belief," at the Council), the Pope's visit to the United States may some day be sloganized by *Life* or *Newsweek* as a first step in the Americanization of the Catholic Church. A fascinating possibility.

● The winners in the recent German elections were Erhard, the Christian Democrats, prosperity, the

memory of Adenauer, stability, apple strudel, and NATO. The losers were the Socialists (relatively: they drew a few votes from the Free Democrats, but stayed as much as ever behind the Christian Democrats), the Free Democrats, Reunification Now (i.e., the winners didn't make a federal case out of reunification, even though no German politician would dare speak against it as an ultimate desideratum), and anyone who savors political excitement. What would happen if, say, the next CDU candidate should run on a platform of tearing down The Wall?

● The Institute of Economic Affairs (London) has rendered important service in the interest of economic good sense through a series of publications, principally the Hobart Papers, which have on occasion wrought genuine changes in the course of British public policy. Now a recent Hobart Paper, by Prof. Gottfried Haberler of Harvard, entitled "Money in the International Economy," is available, and those interested in a serious 5-page inquiry into the international payments situation and in an approach towards Prof. Milton Friedman's position on flexible exchange rates should procure a copy. Which can be done by sending a dollar to The Philadelphia Society, 408 Towne Towers, 1420 N. Street N.W., Washington 5, D.C.

● Solution to this week's problem in Asia: translate the Trans-O-Gram into Urdu. Submit it simultaneously to Ayub and Lal. First man to solve it gets Kashmir. Loser gets a subscription to *Saturday Review*.

Roses, for Courage;

Rosemary, for Remembrance

Two items of news in the past many days make plain the need to hang onto that provision of the Taft-Hartley Act, section 14(b), which allows the several states to pass laws forbidding compulsory union membership.

In Chicago the U.S. Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals has ruled in favor of the United Auto Workers, which had imposed fines on some 200 employees of Allis-Chalmers who crossed picket lines in order to go to work in 1959 and 1962. The law (Wisconsin) had *compelled* them to be union members in the first place. If 14(b) is repealed, there will be no escape from such compulsions.

And in California a member of the Steelworkers' union filed a petition with the NLRB asking for an election to find out if a majority of the workers at the particular plant wanted union representation to continue. The union suspended the man and fined him

Mme. Chiang at the White House

Lovely lady, pale and wan,
Floating in from Taiwan,
Why is everybody so
Very pianissimo?
Where's the Old Philosopher—
Promenading Him and Her?
Where is Moyers? Where's the Press?
No one's seen such quietness
Since they tried to alibi
Funny doings at the "Y."

W. H. VON DREELE

five hundred dollars. The NLRB not merely denied the petition but upheld the suspension and fine. So it goes in states that allow compulsory union shops.

Such stories—and there are hundreds of them—undoubtedly form part of the background for a very widespread public opposition to compulsory unionism. Every opinion poll that has been taken in recent years shows a clear majority of the people against compulsory unionism and in favor of voluntary unionism. Perhaps it is the knowledge of this enormous public support that has firmed up the group of senators, led by Everett McKinley Dirksen, who now propose to engage in "extended debate" (Dirksenese for "filibuster") on the question of repealing 14(b) when the question comes to the Senate floor. That repeal of 14(b) is wrong in principle, poisonous to liberty, unnecessary to the general welfare, and burdensome upon the economy, is no reason to be assured that the Senate will oppose it. Indeed, a majority of the Senate would repeal it; that's how bad things are in the Upper Chamber this afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. But the repeal faction cannot find the necessary sixty-seven votes to limit debate. So Everett Dirksen and his merry band of freedom fighters can hog the floor until the other side cries Hold, Enough!

Nothing could be more delightful for all concerned than to have Dirksen and his colleagues make good political profit out of a fight that lends wings to principle. So here's a posy to Mr. Dirksen. Long may he wave! And what fun to think that every golden word of extended debate, as the drones orate at four in the morning, is a stalwart blow for the individual's freedom.

Himalayan Rumbles

All wars are unpleasant, in terms of modern sensibilities, but a limited and geographically restricted war between India and Pakistan is not a matter of acute-

Focus on

WASHINGTON

◆ The Bureau of Labor Statistics has been the target of White House and Big Labor attack ever since its direction was entrusted to Ewan Clague. With his resignation, observers here expect the complete politicalization of what has been called one of the most strategic economic arms of the federal establishment. Under Mr. Clague, the BLS has limited its function to the gathering of statistics and to the improvement of reporting and statistical methods. Presidents have tried to manipulate its periodical announcements of the monthly unemployment rate. The AFL-CIO has attempted to twist arms in order to get the BLS to report sharp rises in worker productivity in order to justify wage-increase demands. But Ewan Clague, largely because of the universal respect with which he has been held by the press and the Congress, always refused to allow the Bureau of Labor Statistics to become an adjunct of the politicians. His successor, Arthur M. Ross of the University of California's Berkeley campus, may not have that kind of muscle. And he will be required to cope with a President and Administration that have shown no compunction when it comes to controlling or suppressing facts. The so-called poverty program needs a good deal of propagandistic bolstering, and a BLS which will move a decimal point to the right or left would be very helpful.

◆ The "unconcerned about Communism" wing of the Democratic congressional delegation was somewhat surprised at the warm endorsement by Majority Leader Mike Mansfield of Senator J. William Fulbright's attack

on Administration foreign policy. Mr. Mansfield, it is felt, has crossed the Rubicon in his relations with the White House. The Fulbright speech was as irresponsible a speech as the Senate has heard since the days of Claude Pepper's romance with the extreme Left. It was carefully designed to put this country on the spot for its Dominican policy in such a manner that the Administration could not answer it candidly without jeopardizing its position in Latin America. The President has so far remained silent. But Mr. Johnson is understandably furious; the White House staff is red under the collar. Ironically, the press, which has been so friendly to the present Administration, gave big play to the Fulbright speech, getting in a few ideological licks at those who put defense of the Hemisphere from Communist subversion above an opening to the Left.

◆ A local reporter gave away the show last week in his story of the weekly meeting of freshmen Democratic congressmen in the Democratic National Committee offices. "The purpose [of these meetings]," he wrote, "is to mobilize the resources of the Federal Government to help re-elect some 60 freshmen, upon whose loyal votes much of the Great Society legislative program has depended." The report further states that such politicians as Jack T. Conway, outgoing deputy director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, Ron Stinnett, assistant to Vice President Johnson, and other patronage dispensers are regularly present—and that the aim of the meetings is to instruct the freshmen on the intricacies of pork-barreling. That this is done comes as no surprise. But that it is reported in the public press without any outcry over the political use of "the resources of the Federal Government" is a sharp commentary on the capital's moral climate.

—CATO

ly critical concern to the United States. It is even conceivable, after all the huffing and puffing that has gone on between these two nations since their formation, that a kind of trial of strength might clear the atmosphere, show each government just how it rates in the power balance, and thereby promote sensible settlement of some of the outstanding issues between them that have got nowhere through the diplomacy, psywar and UN rhetoric of the past eighteen years. And the impression one gets from many pictures and news dispatches is that, so far, the people of both Pakistan and India, accustomed to the dreary hopelessness of their normal lives, have been rather enjoying the excitement.

But when Communist China begins moving in, it is something else again. If Peking gained control of the Indian subcontinent, it would be all over for Asia. Any advance of Communist Chinese power across the Himalayas automatically makes an absurdity of our present strategy in Southeast Asia. If Peking really moves seriously on India's northeastern frontier, the local India-Pakistan conflict becomes

at once transformed into a global challenge; and that challenge cannot be left unanswered, unless the United States is now ready to cede all Asia, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific to Communist control. Some of our most qualified strategists believe that one part of the reply, if a Chinese advance into India actually gets under way, ought to be to close the Himalayan passes by nuclear bombing; many think that this should be accompanied by the destruction of the Chinese nuclear installations. The Chinese Communists are most certainly aware that contingency plans for these operations exist, and for that reason it is on the whole probable, though not certain, that they will restrict their maneuvers to the controlled provocations, troop deployments, demands and threats that they have lately been using. These, it should be noted, have a ponderable effect, beginning with their ability to tie down large Indian military units and thus to lower Indian weight in the balance with Pakistan, which country Peking is currently patronizing.

As an addendum on the India-Pakistan war we may

remark: it suggests once more that, whatever the pros and cons of foreign aid programs, they do not seem to influence greatly a nation's foreign policy when it comes to the pinches. In a showdown (see Henry Paolucci's article in this issue) most nations seem to act in accord with what they take to be their own security and interests, no matter what gifts or bribes or insults they have been getting.

No News

Or, What Killed the Dog

"It's sort of peaceful," a young secretary said, according to a dispatch on the New York verbal desert printed with a condescending flourish by a Connecticut daily. "I know it's not real, and that all the fuss and happenings in the world are still going on, but without seeing the papers, it doesn't seem like it." She had a point, that philosophic lady. With the blackout that fell on the world's richest and most raucous city when the Publishers Association responded to the Newspaper Guild's strike against the *Times* by shutting up shop, the New York atmosphere breathed a rare serenity in which Sikkim, Saigon, Sialkot and Sabah faded into a misty fairy-

land, coffee could be enjoyed unflavored by U Thant, the water shortage disappeared, and the newest rape-murder was no longer screaming from one's subway neighbor's lap.

For a few days it was like playing hooky on a bright spring day. But then comes the truant officer to recall that the world is still with us. Aren't they preposterous, really, these general newspaper shut-offs in New York? In the primary world center of finance, trade, transport—and all the arts, crafts and techniques of *communications*! What a supine herd they must be—these twelve million inhabitants of Greater New York—to accept so gutlessly the withdrawal of what they ordinarily find as necessary a nourishment as their daily bread! There they were, after relaxing a day or two, scrabbling for irregular piles of almost news-less, early-edition provincial sheets, eccentric advertising throwaways or the scrubby evening paper, carrying a small jigger of genuine news and gallons of Liberal hogwash, that pulled out of the Publishers Association in a wobbly effort to save its skin.

What is wrong with the New York newspapers? Any one of them, at the drop of a type slug, can launch a campaign to make your hair stand on end, on any topic from children's hospitals to apartheid. Why have they never used their columns and talents to state their own full case in these public-be-damned conflicts that shut the New York papers down for 114 days three years ago, as they have blacked out the press in several dozen other of the nation's cities? What outsider can make head or tail of the dreary, complicated articles—coming usually just before shut-down—about 101 points, most of them of no interest to anyone not of the industry? Are the papers, perchance, less than confident about the merits of their case—feeling, maybe, a twinge of guilt at the realization that the policies they have themselves advocated for years toward "the rights of labor" are in considerable part responsible for their present plight?

It is our impression—though admittedly based on less than adequate knowledge—that beneath the bewildering variety of issues debated in the newspaper labor disputes of the past few years, the controlling question is summed up in the pervasive term, "automation." Wages do not seem to cause great difficulties, and all other matters, save "automation," seem amenable to bargaining. But a guild-minded, monopolistic unionism seems to have set itself, Luddite-wise, against the technical and administrative reorganization of the publishing industry that the publishers feel—in their rather wishy-washy way—to be essential to survival. If this is the crux, surely it deserves the broadest public explanation and discussion. Similar conflicts—wherein hard unions, favored by government and courts and supported by skilled publicity, confronted sluggish, temporizing and soft-



ened managements—have largely wrecked our railroads and our shipping, are currently undermining our steel industry, and have already, in fact, destroyed half or more of our big city newspapers—the latest in San Francisco a few weeks ago. (It is already indicated that one result of the New York strike will be the merger of the Scripps-Howard *World-Telegram* and the Hearst *Journal-American*—that is, the net death of a major paper and its jobs.)

And wouldn't it be refreshing if one of these great publishing enterprises decided, instead of shutting its doors obediently at the union summons, to go ahead with the public business that newspaper proprietors once thought to be an almost sacred trust: to assemble all who chose to join, and to put out a paper—some kind of paper, any kind, even if no more than a mimeographed four-pager? They might be much surprised at what that might lead to.

Fulbright: No Accident

When, on September 15, Senator J. William Fulbright stood up in the Senate and harpooned Leviathan for its flailings in Dominica, there was consternation in the land. Why should the Democratic Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee accuse the Democratic Administration of "overreaction" and "lack of candor" in that affair? Why, months after the event, accuse the U.S. Ambassador of giving "faulty advice"? Why find fault with the U.S. role in the Dominican Republic after holding thirteen hearings on the business, the upshot of which was that the U.S. intervention had been justified and prudent?

Two days later, Senator Thomas Dodd ripped into Fulbright, saying he "suffers from an indiscriminate infatuation with revolutions of all kinds, national, democratic or Communist." The White House gave Fulbright a cold shoulder. Three days after Dodd, the House of Representatives passed a resolution endorsing exactly what Fulbright had assailed: the use of armed power by the U.S. to prevent a Communist takeover anywhere in the Hemisphere. The vote was tremendous, 312 to 52. Fulbright was seconded in the Senate by Senators Joseph Clark, Mansfield and Morse and almost no one else. He had isolated himself, it seemed; even the slavish *Newsweek* had to admit as much. Had Fulbright slipped? What was he up to?

Try this on for size. With Gen. Wessin y Wessin out and García-Godoy in, Fulbright scored the Dominican episode as a defeat for the Hards and a victory for the Softs (see "The Third World War"). Following a perfectly good rule of tactics, he pressed his victory for maximum territorial gain. In this case he had a double objective. In the near term he could hope to alienate the Hards to such an extent

that Wessin would be gone forever and—yes!—hapless Juan Bosch would be swept into office in next summer's voting. Over the longer term Fulbright could hope to elevate the narrow victory of the Softs in Dominica into a grand strategy for the Administration under all circumstances. His mortal error, of course, is that a policy of No More Dominicas translates into a reality of Plenty More Cubas.

But at least, we suspect, Mr. Fulbright knew what he was doing. He doesn't look too odd with a saffron robe on, all soggy with kerosene. We'll know he's crazy only when he strikes the match.

As New York Goes . . .

Pols are split over whether Controllor Abe Beame's victory in the Sept. 14 Democratic primary hurts or helps John V. Lindsay. Beame's chief victim, Council President Paul Screvane, is a more powerful debater and speaker, but would have been hurt by his public image as Mayor Wagner's man. . . . The Mayor is so unpopular, after twelve years in the world's most impossible job, that Beame has made little or no effort to solicit his support for the general election. . . . In addition, Beame's Jewish ancestry may blunt Lindsay's hoped-for and still-probable sweep of the Jewish vote. . . . But Lindsay aides are encouraged by unforeseen light Jewish turnout in the primary. . . . Beame's choice of James A. Farley as campaign chairman is expected to boost the nominee's headlong effort to stress his national Democratic Party ties. . . . Campaign manager will be former Tammany leader Edward N. Costikyan, who masterminded Beame's primary upset.

Meanwhile, Lindsay is increasing his explicit attacks on Conservative nominee William Buckley; he now pictures himself in his twice-daily press conferences as "the alternative to Beame, bosses, and Buckley"; refers to the Conservative candidate as "Bill Buckley of Connecticut" (Buckley has been a Connecticut voter, but has a New York residence). . . . Lindsay continues to alienate Republican politicians, in state and out. . . . Eisenhower, Nixon, Rockefeller, even Massachusetts' Negro Attorney General Edward Brooke, are among those banned from pro-Lindsay campaigning in New York. . . . Not one piece of Lindsay literature has yet mentioned the word "Republican." . . . TV-radio debates may take on a 1960-like importance as campaign draws to a close. Three-way debates have already been scheduled on WCBS-TV, WABC-TV, WNEW-TV, WNDT-TV, WMCA radio. . . . WNBC-TV, contrary to the policy of all other stations and to the classification procedure of the New York Board of Elections, classified Buckley as a "minor" candidate, has invited only Beame and Lindsay to its de-



Evening Standard, London

Ben Roth Agency

"I've got another Socialist idea—let's get tough with the unions!"

bate. Its ruling has been protested to FCC. . . . But NBC's prestigious "Meet the Press" will probably air a nationwide Buckley-Lindsay-Beame clash the Sunday before election.

Eisenhower Arabesque

Dwight Eisenhower long ago proved himself the smartest politician in the nation for not only wanting it but getting it both ways. Once again, on Vietnam, he seems to be succeeding in his misty sleight-of-hand. President Johnson has been at constant pains (as part of his typical sleight-of-hand performance) to link his own Vietnam policy with that of his two predecessors, in particular with the Eisenhower line laid down in 1954 letters to Churchill and Diem. Suddenly Eisenhower gave a yank to the rug by a public statement that no, his 1954 letter meant only "economic aid," not military support to South Vietnam. So Eisenhower was swinging over to the opposition on the Vietnam issue? Why, not at all: because two days later he said to the reporters assembled that President Johnson is absolutely right in standing firm in Vietnam, and any talk of a breach between them is "rot" and "I have done everything I can to show I am behind him."

So what was the point of that historical disclaimer? Well, there you have the inimitable Eisenhower arabesque. The point is this: that if things go well in the Vietnam war, Dwight Eisenhower can share the credit, maybe even get first slice, for his prescience in "seeing the threat" in 1954 and advocating the appropriate action at each stage; but if things go badly, his won't be any of the blame, because after all, though he supported his President in a military action like any patriotic American, he knew from the beginning that we should stick to economic and

political methods only and never get bogged down in a hopeless Asian war.

Art Notes

The Left is adroitly adapting its Agitprop operations to the Age of Pop and Camp. Most striking in recent years, of course, has been the use of "folk" music to service the ideological lusts of a largely undergraduate clientele. Now, and suddenly, the Left is making a considerable musical play to a younger and larger audience as well. A mutation known as "folk rock" is syncopating the Message to the insistent throbs of Rock'n'Roll—and selling like hot cakes to the presumptively unideological teen-age masses. "The Eve of Destruction," a clammy anti-war pot-boiler with lyrics like "You're old enough to kill, but not for votin'," has been outselling all other records for weeks, and scads of similar efforts are close behind.

The use of cinema as a propaganda form, on the other hand, is nothing new to American ideologues. The ugly memories of the soft-on-Stalin *Mission to Moscow* and of the Hollywood Ten have not quite been eradicated.

But, for the past ten or fifteen years the Left's Hollywood propaganda has been submerged and often only peripheral; mass preaching of the Communism-ain't-it-wonderful type has, for the most part, been Out. Out, that is, until recently, when a film called *China!* surfaced at neighborhood theaters along many byways of the republic. Produced by a left-wing cinematic impresario named Felix Greene, *China!* is a slick encomium to the People's Paradise and a palpable kick in the coffin to the millions who have been murdered within its bamboo walls. More important, it reached a mass audience and, judging from the length of its run, is a box-office success. Now, and perhaps even more outrageously, *To Die in Madrid* has gallivanted into local outlets, reviving on its merry way every discredited interpretation and slanted myth about that venerable occasion for Leftist distortions known as the Spanish Civil War. *Newsweek* recently took time out from its sifting of fact from opinion to wax eloquent on the film's theme: "Hitler's finest . . . move mercilessly against innocent villages and ragtag irregulars in *alpargatas*, all in the name of Spain and practice. 'An army against a people,' said United States Ambassador Claude Bowers. The people had an army, too, a determined army, but Franco's army had determination and allies . . . *To Die in Madrid* is a valuable film that should be shown widely in schools as well as in theaters. . . ." Gone with the leftist wind are the Soviet cadres, the GPU-controlled International Brigades and the terror against Church and peasantry. (An editor's note at the end of a rave review

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P.S. GIFTS WELCOMED

in the September 21 *Worker* says: Tickets to this film are now on sale for \$2 at the *Worker* office.”)

While this sort of thing cannot be taken seriously on an intellectual level (historians, Liberal as well as conservative, long ago straightened the record), its appearance in a mass market is disturbing. What it means is that for the first time in a long while, the hard American Left is getting access to the innocent. The size of the breakthrough should heighten our awareness that innocence about Communism is a luxury at least 48 years out of date.

Letter from Los Angeles

Dear Sirs:

In the wake of the riots here in Los Angeles, when cries of “police brutality” again resound throughout the land, I would like to bring these two points to the fore:

- 1) “Police brutality,” where it does exist, is not confined to being visited upon the Negro race, as Negroes seem to imply, and
- 2) To whatever extent this brutality exists, it is far offset and outweighed by the many acts of kindness and assistance which police render impartially to white and Negro alike.

In the first instance, I don’t believe any reasonable person would deny that there have been documented cases of police “manhandling” suspects; not all policemen of course are angels—there are bound to be, among the tremendous numbers of police across the country, a few who are short-tempered, rude, maybe even brutal—such men will react just as strongly to a white criminal they apprehend as they will to a Negro criminal. One could certainly scout up a quantity of white people who have been the recipients of (by their definition) brutality, but the civil rights groups apparently find it useful to maintain the fallacy that police are against Negroes because they are Negroes, rather than because they are criminals who happen to be Negroes. These groups must have a vested interest in twisting the natural antipathy of police to lawbreakers into an issue of white against black, inasmuch as the resultant continued unrest provides the ideal climate within which their own existence can be perpetuated and insured.

In connection with the second point mentioned above, one instance from my husband’s early career in Baltimore comes readily to mind, although numerous others would illustrate the case equally well. On this occasion, he spotted a large pool of blood on the sidewalk, and tracks leading therefrom; following these tracks down a deserted alley he came upon a Negro boy slumped in a doorway and bleeding profusely from a knife wound in the arm. His assailant, also Negro as it turned out, had fled the scene and this boy’s arm was literally cut through to the bone at the elbow, the arteries severed and blood spurting all over the place. While his partner left to summon an ambulance, my husband dropped to his knees and attempted to stop the bleeding, first by applying a tourniquet, and when this failed, by the application of digital pressure above the elbow. Although my husband is a strong man it required all of his strength finally to

stem the flow of blood, and to maintain the pressure on the arteries for the approximate fifteen minutes until the ambulance arrived. The boy passed out several time from loss of blood during this time, and when the ambulance attendants took over, my husband could no even move his fingers as they were so “frozen” into the cramped position they had held for so long; his uniform was a dirty, bloody mess and his shoes would never be the same—but the boy was alive. My husband was credited with saving him from bleeding to death and it never occurred to him for an instant that this boy was Negro, that it was another Negro who had sliced him, or that it was “Negro blood” all over his uniform which, incidentally, he would have to pay to have cleaned. It was simply that his assistance was needed and he gave it.

The point I would make, while we are bombarded on all sides with cries of “police brutality,” real or imagined is where are all the Negroes who have been helped by the police? Where are those who could restore some balance to this situation by speaking in defense of the police? Surely, somewhere among the legions of people who have benefited by a policeman being on the scene at a crucial time, there must be someone who could raise a voice in their behalf. Has the cat got all their tongues? Are they afraid?

Curiously, after the rioting picked up steam and people began to be horrified at the carnage and the looting and the killing, there was a noticeable lack of criticism of police in general, on the part of certain television commentators and newspaper columnists who usually can’t wait to fly into print or rush to the airwaves with condemnations of the police. These pious guardians of the interests of the oppressed and the downtrodden found themselves mouthing actual compliments to the law-enforcement officers for the “magnificent job they are doing.” Gone were the complaints about “undue force” and “harmful attitudes” and “illegal search and seizure” gone were the concern and the worry about the small niceties and the technicalities of arrests—all they wanted then was to have the rioting and burning and lawlessness stopped. Never mind how.

It is a pity these commentators and columnists will not let themselves realize that police face these same conditions on a lesser scale every day of their lives, and that the smaller, localized incidents are no less threatening to the people involved in them just because they are a few at a time. But it seems we must wait until turmoil reaches heroic proportions before the police can act without fear of repercussions and recriminations and demands for civilian review boards.

I’d like to take a few of these bleating purists out of their comfortable swivel chairs and their air-conditioned offices and set them patrolling the back alleys of some of these unsavory neighborhoods in the dead of night, make them a target for the bottles and brickbats and bullets; make them wade into two or three knife battles at peril of their own life and limb, send *them* into the darkened store whose burglar alarm went off, only guessing what might await them inside, have *them* answer an unbelievable number of calls for an unbelievable assortment of reasons from family squabbles

o rape attacks; let them go through an eight-hour tour of this and see if they remain chipper and cheerful when they catch the young hoodlum who knocked down and beat the defenseless old woman. Tell them they have to treat this punk with deference and courtesy, and tell them they have to go through it all again tomorrow night and the next night and the next.

All of the above, of course, are hazards of the trade, but for people to expect police to stay unfailingly polite

and solicitous in the face of daily insults and taunts from some segments of our society, and to ignore the ridicule, the suspicion, the insolence and the inimical stares, the foul and offensive language, and the utter contempt for law and order, is to endow police officers with qualities few humans possess.

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On the Right

The New Security Risks

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

What has happened to the government's security system? The public appeared to lose interest in the whole business, an over-reaction to the hectic McCarthy years, and it continues to be difficult to get even Congress worked up enough to discover, for instance, the reasons why the State Department's William Wieland, whose record during the pre-Castro years raised doubts in some minds about his reliability, is not a security risk; whereas the State Department's Otto Otepka, who blurted out some information to a congressional committee concerning the State Department's carelessness in security matters is a security risk.



Buckley

A highly intelligent informant, buried deep inside government, advises me that the internal security system is, notwithstanding the lack of general interest and the harassment of the Supreme Court, growing indeed, as all bureaucracies tend to do. The trouble is, it is growing in such a way as to expand the definition of security in ways that were hardly intended by Congress. The new security risk in Washington is: the man who voted for Goldwater.

Goldwaterites Security Risks?

A learned discussion has gone on for roughly three-quarters of a cen-

tury on the general subject of what kind of loyalty the leader ought to be in a position to demand from his bureaucrats. The Civil Service Law sought to professionalize government by putting an end to the greater abuses of the spoils system, and protecting most government workers from losing their jobs every time a new leader heaves in with his hungry army of predators. The opposing argument is that a new President must be able to fill enough jobs to give him effective control over executive policy. The considerations of both sides should be weighed in devising a workable system.

What is happening now in Washington seems to be of a different character. The idea is not so much to replace Jones, who voted for Goldwater, with Smith, because Smith's father gave five thousand to the Presidential campaign. But to remove Jones merely because he voted for Goldwater, i.e., to punish Jones for past heresies—that is different from punishing him (with regret) because, after all, something has to be done for good old Smith. The easiest way to get Jones out is to find him, after a considerable stretch of the imagination, a security risk.

There are three accepted categories of security risks at the moment. One is the Communist, or the loyalty risk. Another is the homosexual, who is considered especially susceptible to blackmail. A third is the alcoholic who, in moments of high inner warmth, is liable, hic, to tell something to somebody which isn't any of

somebody's business.

A fourth category is the man who isn't loyal to the leader. Disloyalty means, among other things, that he might just possibly not cooperate in the suppression of information on bureaucratic error. The kind of loyalty to cover up the mistakes of one's fellow bureaucrats has become so highly esteemed an attribute of a high civil servant that it is getting more and more difficult to monitor the work of bureaucracy.

All of which, my friend writes me, is "a wholly predictable consequence of a security program. The situation that leads to suppression is perfectly evident: the purposes of government become subtly identified with those of bureaucrats and their personal interests in a way such that any kind of information that adversely affects the bureaucrat is a breach of security because it adversely affects the work of government. It is the principle that the interests of government and those of government servants are indivisible.

Bureaucrats Scared

"Under LBJ, the bureaucrat is running scared—from McGeorge Bundy down to the meanest illiterate in the ICC. He reacts. His security is disturbed, and the security of the security officer is disturbed, and the security of the security officer's boss is uncertain. Under Ike, there was perfect security among security officers; under LBJ they are running scared, in any case, because of the LBJ image, but they are running even more scared because their bosses are running scared."

Congressman John Moss (D., Cal.) of the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations and Government Information has promised to look into the general problem. Meanwhile, be loyal to your leader.

The Third World War

By Which People?

JAMES BURNHAM

Events surrounding the signing of the Washington-imposed Dominican "Act of Reconciliation" symbolized, in History's usual way, the political meaning of what had happened. 1) The "loyalist" (anti-Communist, military-supported, center-right) Junta of Antonio Imbert Barrera refused to sign the Act, and dissolved. 2) The "constitutional" (leftist, Communist-allied) or "rebel" chief, Colonel Francisco Caamaño Deñó, signed cheerfully, and



Burnham

went back to the Old City to take part in a "victory celebration." 3) Hector García-Godoy, Foreign Minister in the incompetent, leftist, Communist-coddling government of Juan Bosch, was made head of a provisional government. 4) Gen. Eliás Wessin y Wessin (hardline anti-Communist, who with his elite Armed Forces Training Center unit had held out against leftist takeover, and had been the critical military link with U. S. forces when they first arrived) denounced the Act, and was forced by U. S. soldiers to leave the country. 5) Col. Caamaño stayed. 6) Day after day went by without the turning in of rebel arms which, by the provisions of the Act, was to have taken place immediately. 7) García-Godoy appointed as his Attorney General Ramón Morel, whom *Time* rightly describes as "a far-leftist lawyer." 8) "Planeloads of [leftist] exiles," to quote *Time* again, "were streaming back to Santo Domingo."

An NR correspondent, reporting from Santo Domingo last spring (NR, June 15), wrote: "History will define the U. S. intervention as an epic struggle between Washington's Softs and Hards. There is now only one remaining obstacle to the victory of

the Softs: their policy is so out of touch with local realities that it may simply evaporate. . . ." The "local realities" were overcome by the more potent realities of Washington. And in Washington the Softs, for whom the U. S. military intervention had been a temporarily demoralizing defeat, reformed their lines and mounted a drawn-out campaign of attrition which the "Act of Reconciliation" carries just short of victory.

What the Local Realities Said

What were the "local realities," and what did they almost self-evidently call for? In the first place, we were involved with a nation in which U.S.-style democracy is excluded. It has never existed in the Dominican Republic, so why should we expect it to spring suddenly out of a piece of paper adorned with a few arbitrarily chosen signatures? Recent Dominican history—the Trujillo dictatorship, the post-Trujillo confusion, the Bosch collapse—finished what minute chance there might have been. Neither the social nor the political preconditions of constitutional democracy are present. The only coherently organized parties are the Communist parties.

Second, the results of the fighting and intervention had brought it about that the key cadres of the three Communist parties (Moscow, Peking and Castro) and of the non-Communist but Communist-cooperating farther Left were a) armed, and b) isolated inside the Old City.

Third, the country required (and wanted) above all some sort of reasonably stable, authoritative government. There was a good chance to put such a government together through an alliance of the "loyal" military—perhaps excluding a few provocative figures and winning over some officers who had gone with the "rebels"—with the right, center and moderate left groupings under some such figure as Joaquín Balaguer. Suf-

ficient "legitimization" could have been secured through an election. There was a good chance along that line if, and only if, the Communists were eliminated from effective participation in the political process. Organized Communist parties with arms in the hands of their members, shielded by an irresponsible Left complacent toward Communists, make the Dominican political mixture too heady a brew for orderly government.

Fourth, what was therefore called for—and it would have been simple enough in the early weeks—was to reduce the rebel redoubt as humanely as possible (mostly by a blockade) and in the operation, 1) disarm the Communists and their far left allies 2) liquidate the Communist party organizations, and 3) include in the Act of Settlement a provision permanently outlawing Communism and Communist organizations. (Without the Communists, the Left's poison is no longer deadly.)

The Rocks Ahead

What a sorry contrast the outcome now proves to be! It is the anti-Communist Right, not the Communists, that is being pushed out of the political arena and in some cases out of the country. The provisional government is turned over, apparently, to left-wing Boschites. The officers who joined hands with the Communists are welcomed back. The Communist organizations, free to plunge into the nation's politics, remain intact and *with* their arms—for Communists will never voluntarily surrender arms, except perhaps a token few for form's sake.

The United States was placed by the bold move of intervention in a position where it might have carried out almost any policy it chose. Instead of solving the serious problems, Washington used its military power to prevent solution. "Reconciliation" under the present terms is a sick joke. An orderly transition to a fair election and a stable government is impossible. The Dominican Republic will now move either toward leftist and ultimately Communist takeover, à la Cuba, or into a seething civil turmoil that will be kept below surface only by an ever-prolonged occupation.

A Little-Known Chapter in American History

**How a columnist for Horace Greeley's Tribune helped
introduce anti-Semitism into the United States. He
signed his columns K.M.—for Karl Marx**

MAX GELTMAN

In America, the year 1856 was ushered in with very little pomp and few circumstances. Franklin Pierce, the "worst" President according to Emerson and the "best" according to Hawthorne, began rounding out the final year of a lack-luster single term as President of the United States to be succeeded by another "moderate," the bachelor politician James Buchanan. Perhaps their acts of "moderation" in pursuit of justice did help to bring on the Civil War, but about this the historians are not agreed.

Three days after the old year was rung out, the *New York Tribune* reported not a single crime of violence. Oh yes, there was a report on January 2 about the continuing troubles in Kansas, and the *Tribune* was quite piqued with the President's State of the Union message, which it commented on with some acerbity, without once mentioning the President by name. But by January 4 there was almost nothing newsworthy to report except that the season of Italian opera in New York was coming to an end that night with a gala production of Mozart's *Don Giovanni*. In all, January 4, 1856, was not a red-letter day for American journalism. Nothing very exciting happened and nothing very significant was reported—except for a strange, unsigned, article on page 4 titled "The Russian Loan."

Even in those less hectic days it is doubtful if many people read through the three-thousand tightly-packed words of the article. Most merely skimmed the surface of the piece catching a phrase here and there about Jews and loan-mongering and the Russian Czar and other such arcane and remote subjects. We can be reasonably certain, however, that New England's intellectuals read it because the *Tribune* was their paper.

Emerson who admired Greeley must surely have been aware of its contents even if he was traveling in the West at the time. (Perhaps Hawthorne, the old "reactionary" and life-time friend of President Pierce, could dispense with it during his morning coffee.) Surely Greeley could take pride on that day—as he did in an editorial—that not only was his paper always on the side of "righteousness" and against "iniquity"; he could also claim with some justice that almost everybody read the *Tribune*.

K.M.=Marx, Engels

By 1856 the readers of Greeley's paper were pretty familiar with the crotchety pieces which appeared with fair regularity in its columns initialed K.M., but more often unsigned. But the style—the incredible, over-weening, over-positive, over-stated, over-zealous and over-generalized style—this surely belonged to one identity. In the case of the initials which stood for Karl Marx the identity was sometimes his, sometimes, that of his politico-ideological identical twin, Friedrich Engels.

In 1851 Charles Augustus Dana, assistant to Horace Greeley and disciple of Charles Fourier, the French Socialist utopist, had signed up Marx to contribute regular pieces in the form of "Letters from Abroad" or articles of general interest for the *New York Tribune*. Sometimes the pieces were written by Engels when Marx was too busy—or too sick—to meet a deadline. It is difficult to determine exactly who made which contribution except to note that Engels, who fancied himself a military expert, usually wrote the bloodier pieces while Marx stuck more closely to politics and economics. But of the Russian pieces there can be very little

doubt, since Marx had shown considerable interest in the subject and had written much about it as friend and confidant of that magnificent English political crank, David Urquhart, a wild and zany Russo-phobe. The *Tribune* article of January 4, 1856, though titled "The Russian Loan," devoted itself almost in its entirety to "loan-mongering." And when Marx said "loan-mongers" he meant Jews. And when he said Jews he meant usurers. And when he said usurers he meant people who enriched "the children of the houses of Judah." For instance:

"The issue of a new Russian loan affords a practical illustration of loan-mongering in Europe, to which we have heretofore called the attention of our readers." (A couple of years earlier Marx—Engels?—had tentatively introduced the subject to his American readers with the observation that "The handicraftsman, the small shopkeeper, the petty manufacturer, is a German to this day in Petersburg, Pesth, Jassy and even Constantinople; while the money-lender, the publican, the huckster is very generally a Jew, whose native tongue is a horribly corrupted German.") Meanwhile back to the "Loan."

"This loan is brought out under the auspices of the House of Stieglitz in St. Petersburg. Stieglitz is to Alexander what Rothschild is to Francis Joseph, what Fould is to Louis Napoleon. The late Czar Nicholas made Stieglitz a Russian Baron, as the late Kaiser Franz Joseph made old Rothschild an Austrian Baron, while Louis Napoleon has made a Cabinet Minister of Fould, with a free ticket to the Tuileries for the females of his family. Thus we find every tyrant backed by a Jew, as is every Pope by a Jesuit. In truth, the crav-

ings of oppressors would be hopeless, and the practicability of war out of the question, if there were not an army of Jesuits to smother thought and a handful of Jews to ransack pockets." (Emphasis added).

The American readers to whom Marx addressed this epistle were not so naive as not to notice that the remarks about the Jesuits were sheer window-dressing added to satisfy the private prejudices of the editors and had nothing whatever to do with the subject. Not a word about Jesuits had appeared before the illustrative *Thus*. But the Jews—the "pocket-ransacking" Jews—were the meat of the article. Let us quote a bit more:

"The fact that 1,855 years ago Christ drove the Jewish money-changers out of the temple, and that the money-changers of our age enlisted on the side of tyranny happen again to be Jews is perhaps no more than a historic coincidence." As will be demonstrated, the "perhaps" is purely rhetorical. When Marx, the atheist, cites scripture he is merely plagiarizing the devil; but when he cites it against the Jews he does so only to establish a historical continuity of Jewish perfidy. As always it is necessary to keep in mind that so far as the Jews were concerned Marx applied the proverb: Any stick to beat a dog. And, to paraphrase Heine, Marx saw only the dog in the Jew and the Jew in the dog.

We continue to elaborate on Marx's description of "loan-mongers" and "tyrants" and "Jews" in order to expatiate on his theme that it was "no coincidence" at all that "the Jewish money-changers whom Christ drove out of the temple and the Jewish money-changers of our age" are indeed one and the same species of beast. To wit:

"Take Amsterdam, for instance, a city harboring many of the worst descendants of the Jews whom Ferdinand and Isabella drove out of Spain and, who, after lingering a while in Portugal, were driven thence also, and eventually found a safe place of retreat in Holland. . . . These men have their agents at Rotterdam, the Hague, Leyden, Haarlem, Nymwegen, Delft, Groningen, Antwerp, Ghent, Brussels, and various other places in the Netherlands and surrounding German and French territories. . . .

Here and there and everywhere that a little capital courts investment, there is ever one of these little Jews ready to make a little suggestion or place a little bit of a loan. The smartest highwayman in the Abruzzi is not better posted up about the locale of the hard cash in a traveler's valise or pocket than these Jews about any loose capital in the hands of a trader." (It is to be hoped the "little" sarcasms haven't escaped the attention of the wary reader.) But just a few lines more:

"These small [sic] Jewish agents draw their supplies from the big Jewish houses, such as that of Hollander and Lehren, Lonigswarter, Raphael, Stern, Sichel, Bischoffsheim of Amsterdam, Ezekiels of Rotterdam. Hollander and Lehren are of the Portuguese sect of Jews, and practice a great ostensible devotion to the religion of their race." (The student of cultural anthropology, who is sometimes addicted to Marxism as some Jews are to Socialism—and both for incomprehensible reasons — should take note that the founders of "scientific" socialism regarded the Jews as a race. They were later corrected by a devoted disciple, Karl Kautsky, who, if truth be told, didn't quite know what they were. He was sure, however, they were not race or nation or people but something unpleasant that would disappear along with capitalism.)

There are some (other than the semi-literate epigoni of the Marxist demonology, who would deny Marx wrote the piece at all) who might argue that Marx was here attacking

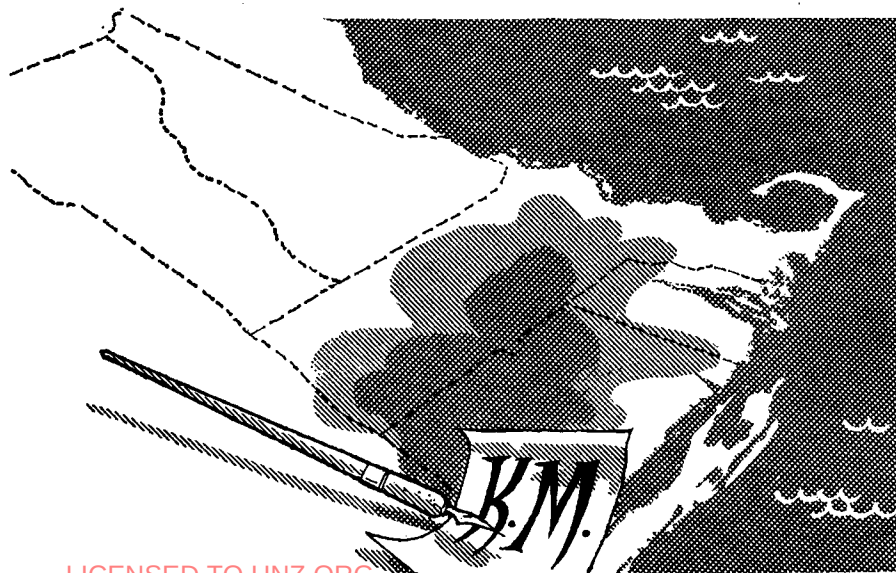
only the rich and well-placed Jews who make their fortunes in the "jobbing of securities." But Marx spells out in words nobody could wilfully misunderstand that the Jews are all one—a confraternity which includes the great and the small; the beggar in his "oriental" caftan, the rich Jew in his satin coat, and the rabbi to bless the transaction. Only in dealing with the Jews did Marx fail to make a distinction—in fact underscored the identity—between the holy and the profane. All—the Jews as a race—are stained with the stigma of anti-social and criminal activity of robbing the people. *Thus!*

"Thus do these loans, which are a curse to the people, a ruin to the holders, and a danger to the Governments, become a blessing to the houses of the children of Judah. This Jew organization of loan-mongers is as dangerous to the people as the aristocratic organization of land-owners."

Transcendentalists Influenced?

What Marx is saying is that what is a curse to the people enriches the children of the houses of Judah, which is a German and long-winded way of saying Jews. (Marx the regicide coming to the defense of the "governments" of Europe against the Jews is no more convincing than Marx the deicide coming to the defense of the Lord and the purity of the Temple in Jerusalem.)

Here a question arises which deserves some further scholarly research. Could it be that the anti-



Semitic pieces of Marx and Engels in the *New York Tribune* helped turn the minds of Emerson, Lowell, Greeley, and other representative Americans toward an unflattering view of the Jews? Where else, for instance, would the gentle Emerson get this picture of the Jew described in his essay on "fate": "The sufferance which is the badge of the Jew has made him, in these days, the ruler of the rulers of the earth." Rulers of the earth, indeed! At the time most Jews the world over had very few rights and fewer prerogatives. In America it is questionable if they numbered a half of one per cent of the total population. In Europe it is quite possible that the socialism of envy which filtered down to the masses as simple greed saw in the fortunes of a Rothschild the nefarious ways the Jew worked to enrich himself at the expense of "the people." Hadn't Engels hailed the gutter literature of the French anti-Semite "Satan" who inflamed the passions of the mob with his pamphlet, *Rothschild I, King of the Jews*? And hadn't Charles Fourier, beloved of Marx and Engels and Greeley and Dana and other Brook Farm enthusiasts, proved to all who wanted such proof that the Jews were all bone of the bone of Judas Iscariot? But where did New England's lofty transcendentalist get such angry notions about the notorious power of the Jews? Prior to the huge migrations from Eastern Europe, the Jewish community in America—especially before and during the Civil War—lined up politically pretty much as the rest of the population. Northerners on the whole (there were notable exceptions) sided with the abolitionists and Southerners (also with notable exceptions) favored the Confederacy, whose Secretary of State was Judah P. Benjamin.

It can be maintained with some certainty that not since Thomas Paine had lashed out at all religions in the early days of the Republic, and had singled out the Jews as lacking all capacity for "art or science" and as "the most ignorant of all the illiterate world," in his reply to the Anglican Bishop of Llandoff, had America seen anything like it. Oh, it seems, a nasty little penny-dreadful (*Jew and Jewess*) was circulating at the time purporting to tell the dire and murderous doings of the Jew Gustavus

Linderhoff and the Jewess Fanny Victoria Talzinger, but it is doubtful Emerson or any of his colleagues ever read it. But they did read the *Tribune*. And, as is the custom with doctrinaire sheets, one gets to believe everything that is printed in them. So it was with the Jew-baiting pieces of Marx and Engels. They had that aura of specialized knowledge which is ever so impressive to the confined scholar who sometimes regards sheer pedantry as proof against knavery. After all, Marx's article bristles with information and unrelated facts and fancies. The genealogies of almost all the "houses of Judah" and their interlocking affinal and consanguineal relationships are thoroughly explored.

Jewish Conspiracy Mystique

Lest it be assumed that Marx concentrates on Jewish "loan-mongers" because there were no others, that, too, would be a hasty conclusion. He does specifically exonerate the extremely wealthy House of Hope in Amsterdam of any chicanery or wrong-doing. In fact, he asserts without any foundation whatsoever that the Jews exploited the honorable name of Hope for their own devious purposes. . . . "The Hopes lend only the prestige of their name; the real [dirty is clearly implied, M.G.] work is done by Jews, and can only be done by them, as they monopolize the machinery of the loan-mongering mysteries . . ." Etc., etc., etc. (Emphasis added.) Now this mystique of an international world-Jewry conspiring to "monopolize" the "mysteries" of money and thus rule the world is later—but not much later—to erupt into the Protocols of the Elders of Zion: only now one can already begin to smell the odor of charred flesh. But it is too early for that. Hadn't Voltaire warned his humanist-atheist and anti-Semitic disciples that the Jews were not for burning? Everything else, yes. But let us not burn them, he counseled. It was not for nothing he was dubbed the most enlightened humanitarian of the whole Enlightenment!

But Emerson's fear haunts one. If the giant transcendentalist of his age can actually be got to believe that the Jews not only rule the world—but are the rulers of the rulers of the world—what but pity should we have

for the less well-born and less well-informed and less merciful. Thus we must indeed find it in our hearts to exonerate the roughs of the Eighth Ward who less than a fortnight after Marx's article appeared gave vent to their impression the piece had on them (assuming they read it or were told about it, and we have no reason to disbelieve either of these assumptions) by stomping to death a couple of the "rulers of the earth" in a brutal assault on the bodies of Thomas and Joseph Cohen of New York. Now this is the way rowdies behave. But intellectuals, especially if they are writers, tend to store away ideas, facts, information for use when necessary—and this too can be deadly. Therefore it is not surprising that some time after "The Russian Loan" appeared with its pocket-picking allusions, James Russell Lowell would write a friend and tell him—half in earnest and half in jest—all about Gambetta's strange powers. (Leon Gambetta, French patriot and arch foe of the Germans during the Franco-Prussian war, was christened a Jew by his enemies.) Writes Lowell: "What has been the strength of his [Gambetta's] Jewish ancestors and what is the strength of his cousins, I should like to know! That they could always supply you or me with an accommodation at heavy interest." Then, he adds in sorry jest, "Where would a Jew be among a society of primitive men without pockets . . .?" Where, indeed!

The Consequences of Ideas

Now it is not suggested that Emerson or Greeley or Lowell or any of the other intellectuals who began to sound the theme of social anti-Semitism in America made prevalent by the writings of Marx and Engels were directly affected by this or that particular effusion of the masters of socialist pedantry. But ideas have consequences, as someone has said. And some of the ideas of Marx and his co-worker Engels with their ideas of the state and revolution and capital and labor—and their identification of Jews as the nasty spawn of the bourgeoisie did leave an indelible imprint on the mind. And intellectuals a hundred years ago were no more apt to avoid the pitfalls of an incipient totalitarianism than their present-day counterparts are.

Ruminations on Social Security

What will happen to Social Security if we have a bad depression? If future Congresses refuse to increase the tax rate? A few sobering "iffy" thoughts on SS

JACK BROOKNER

The federal Old Age Security and Disability Insurance program, OASDI for short, known universally as Social Security, is a bare quarter-century old. In evaluating it we must remember that it will not reach full maturity until the year 2026—that is, when it is ninety years old, and three generations have passed. So there is little ground for asserting that it has been a complete success; perhaps it can be made successful; that is something we shall look into.

It is important to take a realistic look at Social Security because it seems certain that a large majority of the people are actually relying upon it as an essential part of their retirement planning. The people have been deluded into thinking of it as "insurance." But it is not insurance, and it could not be made into insurance even through the makeshift amendment which added the word "Insurance" to the title of the Social Security Act in 1940. A program that has paid \$100 of benefits to past beneficiaries for every dollar they put in, and that pays \$10 for \$1 to present beneficiaries, is hardly an insurance system. And if it were insurance it would contain the elements of contract; whereas, unlike private insurance and pension programs, unlike civil service retirement or railroad retirement programs, Social Security does not provide a contract which the beneficiary may enforce in a court of law. The Social Security beneficiary has no enforceable legal right. He merely enjoys a gift by act of Congress, which future Congresses can revoke. The Supreme Court has actually ruled that Social Security payments are not taxable income, but gratuities—unpaid gifts, unlike the taxable income from private paid-up insurance and annuity contracts.

Structural flaws were introduced into the system early, when the idea

of protecting against indigence or supporting the already indigent gave way to the idea of extending benefits to large portions of the population



where indigence could hardly be said to be a problem or even a reasonable possibility. The principal criterion that seems to have been applied in

admitting new groups to Social Security coverage is administrative: if the new group would raise administrative difficulties, it was excluded.

A conceptual flaw was unavoidable in the original Act, because the Supreme Court had more than once ruled that special or earmarked federal taxes were unconstitutional. The Act declared that the Social Security benefits would be unrelated to the payroll tax. The proceeds of the payroll tax were to go into Treasury general funds (another non-insurance aspect of the system). This original equivocation remains imbedded in the conceptual structure of Social Security, and is revealed as a flaw under objective analysis.

If the Social Security system is unsound, its potential damage can be reduced by allowing anyone to withdraw from it who has taken out a private retirement or dependency protection insurance program. Social Security would no longer be compulsory and monopolistic. At the beginning very few people might withdraw, because private plans cannot hope to match the huge "profits" of current Social Security beneficiaries. But as the system grows to maturity the story changes. A young man starting to work in 1980 will have paid to Social Security (along with the employer's share) more than he could hope to receive in benefits by the time he will have been working for 45 years. At that point (only fifteen years from now, remember) it will make economic sense to withdraw from Social Security and get a private insurance program.

The actuarial soundness of any such system rests partly on the correct measurement of a limited risk. In the case of Social Security it is the measurable risk of a limited group—that group of wage-earners who are subject to loss of wages. Social Se-

curity has nothing to do with loss of income from investments, savings, inheritance. The limitation is clearly expressed in the provision that benefits will be reduced if a beneficiary earns more than \$1,200 a year (with certain exceptions) in wages, but benefits continue at full rate no matter what the beneficiary's investment income may be. Needless to say, any alteration in the basis of the actuarial calculations could have a profound effect on the solvency of the system as a whole.

Social Security is built around the wage-earner largely because of the ease of administering a payroll tax; the case is plausible. But what is there to say of an actuarial basis that seems to rest on an assumption of an ever-growing economy? The series of slight recessions we have had since 1945 have put a notable strain on Social Security finances. To judge by the experience of these slight recessions, the system would face disaster in a depression of the magnitude of the 1929-1939 depression. As long as the system hypothesizes an ever-growing economy, it rests on an essentially speculative foundation.

SS Needs Pop. Explosion!

Another speculative element in the basis of the system is that it seems to require an ever-growing population. Even if our population only leveled off for a few years, the Social Security system would face real trouble.

Another element of the system is not exactly speculative, but mostly unrealistic. It assumes that Congress will raise the payroll tax rate from time to time according to a given schedule. Many Congresses in the past have shirked the responsibility of voting higher Social Security taxes but have gone ahead and voted higher Social Security benefits.

Since the payroll tax rates are now so high that they are getting serious attention, the likelihood is that Congress will prefer to raise the "base" on which the tax is levied. The tax now applies to the first \$4,800 of wages. It is important to understand that the benefits received are higher in proportion to the tax paid on the first thousand of wages than they are for the last thousand of wages. The system contains the seed of a graduated income tax. The Social Security

Administration is counting on the graduated payroll tax to keep it solvent, and it would like to graduate the tax even more steeply. Congressman James Roosevelt (D., Cal.) introduced a bill to make the wage base \$10,000. The bill failed; its proponents will keep trying.

System Is Not 'Insurance'

It is true that a thorough-going graduation of the Social Security tax would provide for financial soundness in the system, but it would also destroy the "insurance" disguise that the Social Security people have been wearing for decades. The system is not insurance, and it has little to do with the indigent as such. I happen to think that the steeply graduated payroll tax would merely accomplish what was the original long-term goal of the Social Security planners: a drastic redistribution of income, with federal management of the retirement plans of the American population.

A case might be made for the program even then, if there were no alternative. But the programs being offered by private insurance companies excel the Social Security program in intrinsic value, flexibility, and individual suitability; they even outdo the civil service retirement program,

which was once a model in the field.

When the Social Security fund reaches maturity it should have between \$50 and \$60 billion in its fund, invested entirely in government bonds. This is essentially a sterile investment, whereas any healthy retirement program should be built around capital investment in the people and things of economic production. The suggestion has been made, therefore, that the government invest the Social Security funds directly in more productive areas. On the theory that what's good for General Motors is good for the Social Security stock portfolio? Or on the theory that the government should have a hand in the ownership and management of GM? Either way, it sounds to me like a long step away from free institutions as we know them.

To sum up: I think that the Social Security system got off to a bad start and has been moving mainly in the wrong direction ever since. If we do not make a careful examination of it and remodel it along practical lines before it has grown to full size, then one of three things will happen: 1) the Social Security system will collapse; 2) our free institutions will disappear; 3) both.

Says L to C

(Liberal to Conservative)

Says L to C: Peace, potatoes, bliss, happiness!

Says C: Euphoria.

Says L: Reason, gravy, Eudaemonia!

Says C: Utopia.

Says L: Abolish Eupatrids, Euclids, euthenics, uranium, Eucharists!

Says C: And ukuleles, unicorns, unicyclists.

Says L: Universalism! Unit-rule! (optimistic)

Says C: Euphuistic, Euphemistic.

Says L: Peaceful cooperation, strawberry cola, coexistence!

Says C: Eurys off the Urals. No existence!

Says L: Eureka!

Says C: Heaven no less.

Says L: Eureka!

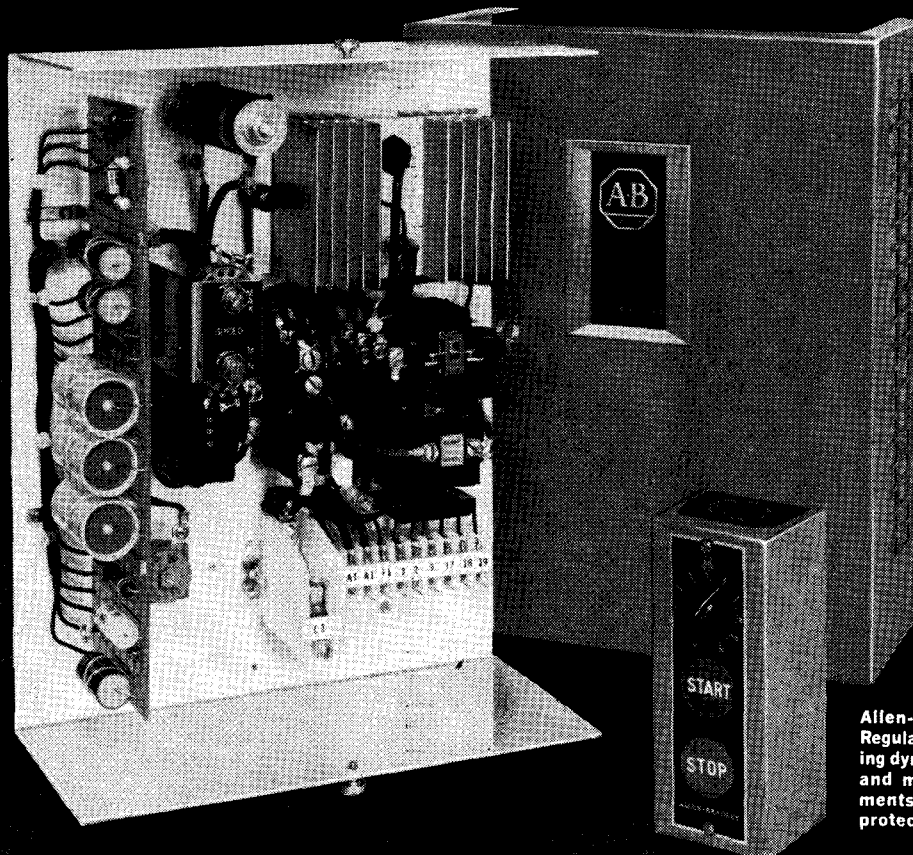
Says C: Euripus no less!

Says L to C: Euphoolyoo!

PARKES ROBINSON

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Are Nations Washed Up?

Why do Western Liberals press ever onward in the war against nationalism when nationalism, in many areas, is the West's major defense against Communist aggression?

HENRY PAOLUCCI

However much they abhor nationalism in principle, our Western Liberals have been quick to acknowledge its power to harden a people's resistance to malevolent aggressors.

The record, after all, is plain. Nazi imperialism was confronted by national pride in the Battle of Britain and at Stalingrad, and was overcome; now Communist aggression is being tested by it. "Today," writes Lenin-expert Louis Fischer, "the greatest barrier to Russian and Chinese expansion is nationalism." This truth, it is alleged, has led our State Department to adopt its present "difference in treatment" policy, designed (in Secretary Rusk's words) to "encourage revolution within the Communist world toward national independence."

But despite such acknowledgments and stratagems, the Liberal intelligentsia remains largely determined to press its long-standing war on nationalism to total victory. Cultivation of nationalist sentiment may be temporarily justifiable in newly emerging peoples, forgivable in senile nations, and irrepressible, perhaps, in second- and third-ranking powers not yet fully developed to self-confident maturity. But the risks inherent in national pride are terrifying, in any case; and therefore, from a Liberal point of view, it would be utterly senseless to tolerate its continued cultivation in the United States, first-ranking nation of the world, whose people already found the Great Society on the other side of the New Frontier, and upon whose Liberally educated maturity almost all responsibility for the future safety of mankind must devolve.

Walt Whitman Rostow, the State Department's house ideologue, has elaborated the case against nationalism in his remarkably influential book, *The Stages of Economic*

Growth, subtitled "A Non-Communist Manifesto." He urges the United States to facilitate the development of all other countries, especially the Soviet Union, to full economic maturity, so that the spirit of nationhood, which makes men willing to fight for their countries, may die in them as it has died in American Liberals. In a less publicized book, *The United States in the World Arena*, Professor Rostow has prescribed with startling candor precisely how far the campaign against nationalism is to be waged. "It is a legitimate American national objective," our recent chief policy planner asserts,

to see removed from all nations—including the United States—the right to use substantial military force to pursue their own interests. Since this residual right is the root of national sovereignty and the basis for the existence of an international arena of power, it is, therefore, an American interest to see an end of nationhood as it has been historically defined.

'Great Act of Persuasion'

A bold plan, certainly—though not altogether original. The idea of harnessing the power of one nation to put an end to nationhood is at least as old as the *Communist Manifesto*; and when the Leninist revolutionaries seized the government of Russia, their object was, surely, to use its power to realize the Marxist prophecy of an "inevitable and early advent of internationalism." Rostow has called the elaboration of his plan a "non-Communist manifesto," and there is originality in that. But whichever manifesto one chooses, there is to be an end to nationhood. And the Western-Liberal scheme, converging on the same goal, sometimes seems to be working out better than the Leninist. "Today," Professor Fischer has written, "Western countries are slowly,

by painful zigs and zags, moving into an era of internationalism. But Lenin, by establishing a totalitarian system, surrendered Russia to her geography and her autocratic past. Thereafter, he and his heirs were powerless to alter her 'peculiarities'!"

Clearly, then, the internationalist ideal of the manifestoes cannot be realized unless the Russian Communists are induced to return to the original vision of Marx. And the United States can ease that return by undertaking what Rostow has called the "great act of persuasion." The Soviets must be persuaded that our professed internationalism is not just a facade, that our government is really determined to abandon the fundamental right of national sovereignty, which Professor Rostow has seen fit to define as "the right to kill other people in the pursuit of the national interest."

The Liberals' war on nationhood is defensible, even imperative, in the context of Liberal assumptions. But in another context—that of history—the current talk of Liberal and Communist One-Worlders about "co-existence" is a crude echo of (among other things) the debates that went on among jurists of the thirteenth century, when universal Church and universal Empire, converging on the same goal—enforcement of world peace by world government—shattered themselves, to the delight and profit of the newly emerging nations and communes. It is, indeed, a matter of fact that the entire history of the Western world since the fall of the Hohenstaufen imperialists has been a history of "co-existence." Introduced at first as a temporary expedient to restrain the ambitions of peoples long intoxicated by the Oriental ideal of uniting all mankind under one law, the scheme of co-existence eventually secured for itself a more permanent basis in the West. ➤

All competent historians agree that this system worked extraordinarily well in Europe from 1648 to 1914. In the conflicts of the first half of that period, nation states hired mercenaries, often from the same professional barracks, to fight on both sides to obtain limited objectives. Even with the devolution of power to the lower classes, when commoners rose to fight and rule like noblemen, it nevertheless remained clearly understood that destruction of men and things was to be kept to a minimum, because today's enemies were certain to become tomorrow's allies. Like members of a family, the nations of the "co-existence" system could quarrel and fight when interests clashed; but they rarely, if ever, thought of pressing their conflicts *ideologically* (and therefore ruthlessly) to unconditional surrender, war-guilt clauses, and war-crimes trials of losers.

Such symptoms began to surface only in the closing year of World War I, when professional internationalists, ideologically incapable of the continence required by the traditional nation-state system, rose to dominance in two new centers of power, around President Wilson in Washington and Lenin in Moscow. The Wilsonian One-Worlders held the view that one or more of the European nations at war was guilty; the task of the righteous was to determine which, and to mete out the appropriate punishment. The Leninist One-Worlders held that all the warring nations were equally guilty, precisely because they were nations, and all, therefore, should be punished by destruction. Since World War II there has been, as we have noted, a rapid convergence of the first position on the second.

Augustine Defended Greek Ideal

Today, Leninist revolutionaries and Liberal evolutionists—whether they pursue Communist or non-Communist manifestoes—share the view that lasting peace can be secured only by stripping all peoples of the prerogatives and emotions of national sovereignty.

The mutual lust for a fellowship of all men is accompanied by attitudes toward the traditional political ideal of the nation-state that are remarkably similar, despite the palpable dif-

ference between the two types that share it. The dedicated, ascetic Communist and the affluent, slightly snobbish Western "intellectual" unite in their dogmatic enmity to the ancient, ameliorative drives of the patriotic state, which calls for the organic assimilation of haves and have-nots, linked by intermediary classes, in sovereign units where social problems incapable of solution on a world-wide scale can be solved to the satisfaction of all interests in a given locality (thereby providing a working example for surrounding ones), once love of country has risen to animate the cooperative efforts of citizens. The



most barbaric wars of antiquity were fought by the Persian, Macedonian and Roman imperialists who rejected the idea of a plurality of sovereign states. The thoroughly civilized Greeks, on the other hand, cherished their system of city-states to the end. Their greatest political theorist, Aristotle, preferred it absolutely to the high-sounding schemes and ephemeral successes of his imperialist pupil, Alexander of Macedon.

Notwithstanding his residence in the Roman community, St. Augustine also defended the Greek ideal. He once wrote that, were men better than they are, there would be, not a single government for all, but "very many kingdoms of nations in the world, as there are many houses of citizens in a city." And St. Thomas Aquinas, writing soon after the collapse of the Hohenstaufen imperialists, excluded the very notion of world government from his political thought, agreeing with Aristotle that a plurality of sovereign states, each more or less capable of sustaining itself in war and peace, was the best means of enabling men to attain their natural ends. In time this view even won over the Papacy. Pope Paul's recent plea

to governments to "moderate [the] facile instinct" of imperialism and his admonition that nations "give to peace its lasting equilibrium" are calls for the conscious strengthening of the traditional system.

The conception of an ideal balance of power is foreign to both of the contemporary One-World views. The Soviets say the United States must abandon its capitalistic imperialism, while simultaneously boasting that the people of the West must and will live under the Red flag. Our State Department's theoretician declares emphatically that "Moscow must abandon the notion of world dominion"; but he himself might think twice before abandoning his own design to "liberalize" the world by eradicating nationality.

Will either vision prevail? It is, of course, conceivable that repeated doses of the "great act of persuasion" might in time render us incapable of rationally defending our love of country.

Patriotism is, after all, a sentiment easier to feel, easier to die for, than to defend with words.

But even if the One-Worlders manage to wrench rhetorical concessions from the avowed champions of nationhood in the West, it is doubtful whether such concessions will be operationally decisive. The deciding word may well come from those unmatched lovers of country whose example in antiquity provided the West (as Bertrand Russell and Arnold Toynbee have repeatedly reminded our generation) with the prototype of authentic nationalism: I mean those inspired patriots whose heroism is commemorated annually in New York, around Christmas time, in the festival of the Maccabees.

"It is better," cried the ancient Judas Maccabaeus, "for us to die in battle than to witness the ruin of our nation and our sanctuary." With Roman help, the Maccabees resisted the imperialism of Hellenistic despots. And when Roman One-Worlders sought to include the Godhead of Israel in their pantheon of universal fellowship, once again Israel resisted. Forced to live in exile by the waters

of the great Babylons of East and West, the heirs of the Maccabees wept as often as they remembered Zion, and vowed to avenge its destruction.

Today the ancient voice of Jewish patriotism speaks from a recovered homeland. "In its diminutiveness, its fanaticism and its Ishmaelitish enmity with its neighbors," Arnold Toynbee has written with Liberal disdain, "the new Zionist Israel in Palestine was a reproduction of the Modern Western national state that, in its faithfulness, verges on being a parody."

For proud Israel the learned Abba Eban has replied:

If there is any consolation, it is the knowledge that we are being castigated in the name of all nation states. For Professor Toynbee regards national sovereignty as obsolete . . .

This is a typical confusion between historical fact and Toynbeesque wish. The eclipse of nationalism by some supernational federalism has been predicted so often that it is one of the platitudes of twentieth-century writing. But, in fact, this century is the triumphant epoch of the national state, and burial ground of broader associations.

When Fascist imperialism, seeking to subject all nations to its world-conquering ambitions, struck at the Jews, i.e., at the heart of traditional nationalist resistance to world rule, Judaism stood its ground and prevailed. There is little doubt that it will resist with equal fervor the challenge of today's One-Worlders, Communist or Liberal, should they ever approach fulfilment of their respective manifestoes.

But Western Liberals, at least, must

learn to restrain their anti-nationalist fervor long before that point of no return is reached. If they do not, we must petition our government, by every possible means, to send such counselors of national ruin packing at once, so that our country can begin to manage its affairs once again as a sovereign nation should, working conscientiously at the civilized business of securing peace with freedom by a balance of power. It is a civilized business because it presupposes two highly civilized truths: first, that peace enforced by World Government is demonstrably incompatible with political freedom in any meaningful sense of the term; and second, that a balance of power can be maintained, when men are disposed to keep it, whether the weapons be spears, hand grenades, or atomic bombs.

THE SOCIOLOGIST'S COOK BOOK— PUDDING DIVISION

This latest volume of Professor Philpott's gives us a provocative overview of the contemporary pudding situation and should, with his earlier works, "Dumplings Defined," and that challenging defense of hash, "Rissoles Revitalized," illumine and resolve the paradoxical anxieties now stifling an authentic pudding dialogue.

While gourmets the world over have hailed Professor Philpott as a rational voice in the culinary wilderness, chefs of the Establishment have denounced him as an exponent of Jell-O. However, most radical jelloists of the Oxbridge group consider this anything but the case and Hetty Sprocker writes, "The Philpott theory of dessert specificity (prunes with a dimension of custard) is not only a departure from Jell-O but a decidedly non-Jell-O code." That prominent voice of blancmange, Professor Pilani, goes even further and suggests, albeit somewhat recklessly, that the Philpott theory initially derives from the English curds-and-why realists and not, as Sprocker claims, the trifle faction of the nineteenth-century neo-antijelloists.

It is in the light of these contradictory suppositions that Professor Philpott has found it necessary to define the correlation between radical jelloism and classic pudding tradition, e.g. Beeton et al. In eight hundred and sixty pages, he sets forth the history of pudding in present-day

terms and attempts to delineate the sort of future cookery mankind can expect. However, Professor Philpott is no dogmatist. If a recipe does inspire the palate, it is, to his pragmatic, independent mind, expendable and treated accordingly. As he himself is quick to stress, no synthesis of divergent modes of pudding reality can be meaningful unless they originate in the very wellsprings of human taste and digestion.

He further states with that perceptive wit and subtlety for which he is famous, "Jell-O may be important precisely because of its distinctive clarity, whereas pudding may be unimportant precisely because of its lack of clarity. Does this, perhaps, indicate that pudding is of decreasing gustatory importance to mankind to the extent it associates itself with the cornstarch?"

Thus Professor Philpott's book not only asks all the right questions, but serves as a paradigm for the study of pudding doctrine. Above all, it is a vital document of immediate relevancy requiring jelloist and non-jelloist alike to rethink their basic assumptions of pudding cookery. In an era preoccupied with the Cold War and population crisis, Professor Philpott confronts us with an agonizing problem and demands we face up to the forces now shaping modern pudding.

PEREGRINE PHILPOTT

Letter from Latin America

Communist Priests in South America

ROBERT PETER

Not long ago the Peruvian regime, taking action against the terrorists, arrested many Communists, including the former priest, Salomon Bolo Hidalgo. Father Bolo is an old and perhaps worn-out cog in the Communist apparatus. He has been excommunicated, but that doesn't stop him from posing in public as a man of the cloth. He dons the cowl which he is forbidden to wear, and mounts the platform to deliver fiery Communist speeches. For the Peruvian Communists he represents a great activist, because through him they can exploit the traditional influence of the Church upon the masses. His audiences are preponderantly primitive folk, most of them illiterate, who judge on the basis of external appearances and are little given to seek an ulterior motive behind words and acts. When a man of God stands up and tells them of revolution and the blessings of Communism, he has a very special impact: "If a padre is for it, it can't be all bad." So the Communists don't want to give up Father Bolo's clerical raiment, and care is taken that he not attack the Church directly—for that clash in itself might awaken the suspicions of a simple public.

'Thorny Young Men'?

This is the strategy, too, of an imitator who has popped up in Colombia, Father Camilo Torres. "The ecclesiastical authorities have freed me from my pastoral obligations," he told a newsman, "and now I can dedicate myself to the struggle of the masses." He made it sound as if the Church had explicitly granted him permission to do so. Father Torres is more candid than his Peruvian colleague: he has set his cowl aside and wears layman's clothes, but he continues to pose as an obedient son of the Church: "I remain bound to the Catholic Church and am still a priest!" he declares with vehemence. His goal is to create a popular front—

which by coincidence is also the over-all goal of Communism. When asked if this could be achieved peacefully Torres replied: "As a sociologist I know that the welfare of the masses cannot be achieved without revolution, and to that end we must unite."

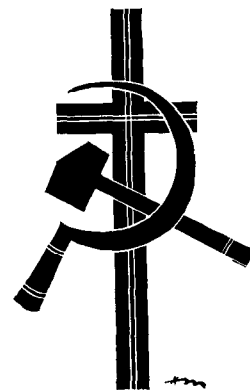
Father Torres took part in a conference in Peru towards the end of June. A big reception was organized for him on his return to Colombia, especially among the students. At the head of the welcoming group was a priest: the second member of the clergy in Colombia to go over to Communism, Father Martin Amaya. He too had been forbidden by his archbishop to take part in sacred rites and to wear clerical robes for having strayed in word and deed from the way of the Church. When Father Torres appeared, he was hoisted on the shoulders of the crowd, and the cry went up that had become widely known throughout Latin America after the Cuban revolution: *paredón* ("to the wall"). "Cardinal Concha to the wall! To the wall with the War Minister! Down with reactionary priests, long live revolutionary priests!" Both priests addressed the crowd. Torres promised to recruit the whole country into the revolutionary ranks and exhorted the students to get into the thick of the fight. He said iron discipline was necessary, because the ruling party would be certain to undertake repressive measures. He announced the founding of a revolutionary newspaper and declared his personal position: "As a priest I solicit the love of all Colombians, and this new brotherhood of man will bring about the revolution." He closed with the assertion that the people as a whole, even the clergy, were sympathetic to the aims he was fighting for.

Who are these priests whose idealism, even though wrong-headed, cannot be denied? Are they individualists and apostates, or are they the

"thorny young men" of the Church, precursors of an extremist turn within the clergy? These trends and counter-trends have long been noted among the clergy of this continent, where for centuries the Church has been an ally of the ruling class, so that a new relationship is unavoidable if the Church is to count on the loyalty of the masses. This political *aggiornamento* is actually taking place and is becoming clearer and clearer in the life of South America. To be sure the modern priests, those oriented fully to the thought and patterns of the twentieth century, are often hindered by the others, the conservatives, the tradition-bound. But generally the signs of a split are unmistakable. Men like Cardinal Silva Henríquez in Chile and Brazil's Archbishop Helder Câmara, "Apostle of the Poor," are trying to establish a dialogue with the people and to show others that this is possible. Priests swept up by the problems of the age, who want to play a positive part in it, can find wide areas of work within their vocation despite many obstacles and occasional misunderstandings.

Leftists at Odds

This "radicalization" of the priesthood raises the specter of Communist revolution at a time when a developing thought pattern throughout South America holds that violent revolution is *not* necessary to deep-lying social reform. In Venezuela, in Peru, in Chile today, left-of-center parties hold office and are busily implementing extensive economic and social programs that exclude the Communist alternative. The achievement of their goals seems to be such a tangible possibility that Communism is fighting them with every means at its disposal. Despite the assertions of the two Colombian ex-padres it is not at all likely that sympathy for a Communist-type revolution is really widespread among the clergy. They are exceptional cases, but they must not be ignored.



The Open Question

Medicare and Mr. Burnham

WILLIAM F. RICKENBACKER

In his discussion ["Rhetoric and Medicare," Aug. 24] of the reasons why a federal program to provide medical care cannot, in the nature of things, be expected to do anything for the elderly who are destitute (they "will of course continue to be helped as they have been: by private charity or public welfare"), Mr. Burnham has hit the nail on the head, and I wish to add my voice to his on the side of right.



Rickenbacker

Again, in the case of surgery upon an elderly and destitute patient, Mr. Burnham accurately describes the situation, which is that in the nature of things the federal program can do nothing here (the surgery will be performed "on the usual staff or charity basis").

If Mr. Burnham's appeal to the sad plight of "the millions of 'old folks' in hospitals, nursing homes, sick rooms and boarding houses" is meant to imply that the elderly and destitute are somehow to be helped by the new federal program, he is at odds with his own earlier admissions to the contrary. Perhaps he is merely repeating once again that the federal program makes a mockery of the genuinely needy.

When Mr. Burnham mentions that there is hardly a free and "advanced" country remaining to which a doctor might flee from federal medical planning, he catches the express inference of the article, but he fails to evaluate its meaning. Until now, the existence of a relatively free medical climate in Canada and the United States (not every province of Canada is named Saskatchewan) has made it possible for other countries to dabble in socialized medicine. Doctors who tolerated it stayed. Those who couldn't stand it have been

fleeing to Canada and the United States, from Britain alone, at the rate of about 500 a year. This was the absolutely essential escape valve for the terrible pressures that can build up in a socialized system (cf. the proposed or actual doctors' strikes in recent years in Saskatchewan, France, Belgium, Italy, and so on). Those who pressed for such systems could feign a believable concern for the doctors' freedom by suggesting that the recusants could always emigrate. But with the beginnings of serious medical socialism in the United States, doctors everywhere are trapped. Where will they go now? And who would be so foolish as to ignore the real dangers involved in dragooning this proud and honorable profession?

The "problem of Medicare for the elderly" absolutely does *not* arise "ineluctably" out of "the conditions of industrialized, mobile mass society," pace my colleague. Poor health is endemic in primitive, not advanced, societies. Medical demagoguery is practiced in mass democracies, not by any means in all mass societies. Mass societies (i.e., clinical density) are a *necessary condition* for the swift advance of medical science. Mr. Burnham goes on to say that the population explosion, the progress of medical science, and the high cost of prolonged care are also direct ("ineluctable") causes of the "problem of Medicare for the elderly"—although the experience of British population trends, the status of Italian medical practice, and the cut-off points built into the U.S. Medicare plan all appear as refutations of his statement.

How About Prohibition?

"We might as well get it through our heads," says Mr. Burnham, "that Medicare, good or bad, is here to stay." And therefore we must "do what we can—as conservatives must normally do with innovations that have been not of their doing—to make it work as well as possible."

Would Mr. Burnham, I wonder, have said the same of Prohibition? Now *there* was not merely a new law passed by a frivolous Congress, but a bona fide Constitutional Amendment, and surely it was here to stay! No. No one would say such a thing about anything that touched him closely. In the field of strategy and foreign policy, such thinking is Lippmannesque and therefore "suicidal" (to borrow a coin). Should we urge Mr. Burnham to get it through his head that appeasement is here to stay? Should conservatives try to make appeasement work as well as possible? Or is appeasement wrong in principle, disastrous in practice, and repugnant to humanity? Mr. Burnham rejects appeasement, even though it has been here and has stayed a long while. I reject Medicare, especially *because* it is just getting a foot in the door. (In point of fact, it won't even "be" here until July 1, 1966.)

Mr. Burnham calls, finally, for a comparison of Medicare programs around the world. I have reviewed two or three books on that subject in this magazine, and I can assure the reader that we shall spare him the thousands of pages of details in which this plan differs from that and that plan from the third. However, none of us should be deprived of the conclusions of Matthew Lynch and Stanley Raphael in *Medicare and the State* (Springfield, Ill.: Chas. Thomas, 1963), who, after a 400-page survey of medical programs in (only) six countries, give their findings:

Socialized medical systems have not solved the problem of the distribution of physicians, either specialist or general. Everywhere they have increased demand on existing facilities. . . . All compulsory schemes, but especially those relieving patients of all financial responsibility, impair and may destroy the doctor-patient relationship. . . . There appears to be no statistical evidence that any socialized medical scheme has resulted in an improvement in health beyond that enjoyed by those peoples still served by private systems of medical care. Indeed, there is more than a suggestion that the State systems result in inferior medical care and inferior health statistics. . . . From the point of view of the medical profession, all evidence seems to point to the erosive influence of socialized medicine on professional standards—ethical, moral, social and economic. . . .

The defense rests.

» BOOKS · ARTS · MANNERS «

The Education of a Socialist

M. STANTON EVANS

Michael Harrington is an intelligent young man of collectivist tendency who, having been educated at Holy Cross and Yale, decided he was a Socialist and was plain-spoken enough to designate himself as such. A few years ago, through a book called *The Other America* Harrington exerted a profound influence on the official policy of the Federal Government, providing "intellectual stimulus," so his publishers say, to the poverty warriors of the present Democratic Administration.

The appearance of a new book by Harrington is thus an event of some importance for those concerned with the permutations of collectivist thought in America, particularly collectivist thought respected by our government. And although the book has met with an unfavorable reception even in Liberal circles where it might have expected better treatment, it is nonetheless an instructive document.

Harrington's thesis, as nearly as I can make it out, is as follows: Free enterprise capitalism has transformed the institutional basis of life, through the creation of new technology and the concentration of economic power; these developments have produced a state of affairs greatly at variance with the professed ideals of the capitalist system; failure to recognize as much has caused us to ignore many new and unprecedented problems; we must therefore take hold of things and,

The Accidental Century, by Michael Harrington. Macmillan, \$5.95

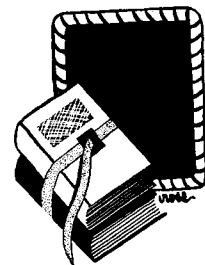
through state planning, turn our "accidental" revolution into a conscious one.

None of this, in our collectivist era, is particularly new or startling; but Harrington's method of setting it forward, which has annoyed some reviewers, gives it a kind of symbolic and representative value which a spare factual presentation of the argument would lack. In an effort to illuminate our "decadence" from various angles, Harrington alternates between statistics culled from *U.S. News and World Report* and Senate committees, and extended flights of literary analysis. Thus a chapter dealing with the effects of modern technology is followed by an analysis of the works of Thomas Mann. Later literary passages deal with Dostoevski, Camus, Joyce, Proust, and Mal-

raux, with some glancing references to Yeats, Baudelaire, and other ornaments of the *belles lettres* too numerous to mention. The effect is a peculiar unevenness of tone, a ragged and desultory pace in the prosecution of the argument. Yet these literary efforts, so maddening to the reader who wants to get on with it, are the most significant parts of the book.

In its economic chapters, *The Accidental Century* is almost entirely about the United States. The figures and assertions and inferences about business consolidation, technology, profits, housing, etc., always deal with America, except for an occasional side

trip to France or Germany. The contemporary reality Harrington affects to set before us, for purposes of contrast with stated ideals and past institu-



tions, is that of the United States. Yet the literary documentation of shifting sensibilities, the philosophic

and aesthetic backdrop against which our economic system is somehow to be perceived and judged, are derived from European sources. It is all Mann, Dostoevski, Proust, and—at the philosophic level—Freud and Marx and Nietzsche. And while there is no doubt that these writers have exerted an immense influence on modern thought generally, it does seem a little odd to back assertions about specifically American conditions with an exegesis of French and German writers.

THE ODDITY is heightened by the fact that nowhere in the book—a book ranging in every conceivable direction in an effort to ruminate on a revolution allegedly caused by American capitalism—is any reference made to the constitutive literature of our own nation. There is no allusion to Madison or Adams, Dickinson or Lee, *The Federalist Papers* or *The Federal Farmer*—or even to Jefferson. At no point, in fact, is any notice given to what the American system is supposed to be, what it is supposed to achieve, or how its performance is supposed to be judged. The author's view of America is roughly comparable to what might be expected from some of the literary figures he examines—distant, truncated, sometimes illuminating for its very strangeness, but thoroughly alien in both idiom and aspiration to the whole point and purpose of the American experiment.

Mr. Harrington is, in truth, a kind of European in our midst; and the peculiar asymmetry of his literary vision affects his economics as well. He is well-versed in *dirigiste* fallacy, but imperfectly acquainted with the literature of freedom. He knows a great deal about Marx's analysis of capitalism, and the modern address given Marxist clichés by certain economists, but gives no sign of having canvassed the powerful refutation of these assembled by various students of free enterprise.

Thus, his root premise about the consolidation of economic power is merely an updated version of Marx's

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**New Pressures for
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**National Organization Calls
for U.S. Recognition of Peiping**

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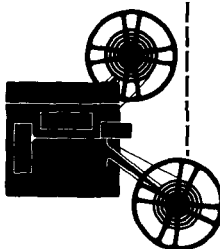
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dictum that "one capitalist kills many." The arguments he uses are an extension of Gardiner Means' researches concerning the accumulation of economic power in major corporations, but he nowhere takes cognizance of the studies of Warren Nutter and Edward S. Mason showing that Means was wrong in his conclusions. His views on automation, which alternate between a Luddite hostility and a Utopian fantasy in which work is abolished, reflect no acquaintance with the studies of Yale Brozen and George Stigler on this subject. His fears concerning "monopoly" and assertedly enormous rates of capitalist profit go directly contrary to the well-documented findings of Stigler, Milton Friedman and Calvin Hoover.

Harrington has approached the American economy with certain *a priori* notions about the merits of planning and the demerits of free enterprise, and is determined to confirm those notions whatever the evidence. He is glad, for example, to co-opt the analyses of David Riesman and William Whyte about the decline of individualism, but perversely tries to pin this development on free enterprise rather than on the welfare-statism of which it is so clearly a concomitant. He is at great pains to disavow the Soviet Union's grinding tyranny as an example of Socialism in practice, but is quick to seize upon it for support when he feels its claimed successes show the workability of planning. Citing flaws in the U. S. economy, he takes no thought of the possibility that any of these might be caused by government intervention, and resolutely ignores the economic effects of spiraling wage rates, deficit finance and inflation, impediments to competition through government regulations, heavy taxes, etc.

THE INTERESTING THING about this performance is not so much that Harrington's Socialism leads him astray, as that it is in such large measure of a piece with what ordinarily goes by the name of Liberalism. His economic jargon of "the public sector," "unmet needs," and the rest of it can be heard from almost any Liberal economist currently in fashion; his rather vague exhortations to plan and direct things are not a bit different from the latest study

paper of the Fund for the Republic or the ADA; even his literary allusions are in the groove of preoccupation marked out by contemporary authority.

Stuffed with European discontents and Marxist economics, Harrington is all too representative of his generation. His "alienation," like that of many younger intellectuals, is *de rigueur*—it is built into the American system of education. Almost any American college student, precisely like Harrington, can tell you more about Marx's view of society than he can about Madison's, because that is the way he has been taught. Almost

any American college student, again like Harrington, can discourse about the supposed dangers of monopoly while remaining mute about the dangers of inflexible wage rates and constant inflation, because that, too, is the way he has been taught.

THERE IS IN FACT nothing more xenophile and self-disparaging than the standard content of what nowadays passes for a liberal education in America. *The Accidental Century* is a suggestive example of what, after several years of such an education, can become of a sensitive and honest intelligence.

Random Notes

• BOOKS AND AUTHORS: Georges Simenon will visit these shores in October, for publication of *The Little Saint* by Harcourt. The book, a non-Maigret item, is described by its author as "a novel of serenity." . . . Lillian Smith reads *Our Faces, Our Words*, monologues on the civil rights matter, on a new Spoken Arts disc. . . . Perfect gift for the biggest Liberal on the block: new sweatshirt from Determined Productions, with Linus on one side and inscriptions on the other: "I Love Mankind; It's People I Can't Stand." . . . Goody: Now out is *Mushroom Cookery* by Rosetta Reitz, mycologist and once food editor of *The Village Voice* (Walker, \$4.95).

For those who enjoy such things (and they're great fun if you don't swallow the bait by taking them seriously), Abrams has Allan Kaprow's *Assemblage, Environments and Happenings* scheduled for October. It's huge, it's got 209 photographs, and it costs \$35 unless you're willing to settle for the signed, limited edition at \$100. . . . Neatest Trick of the Season: Hawthorn is publishing *The Lost Treasure of Cocos Island* by Theon Wright and Mrs. Ione Sutton, story of an unsuccessful attempt in 1902 to recover heaps of loot buried by pirates in the South Pacific. Under

a unique clause in the contract, Hawthorn will get 10 per cent of anything the authors find in their planned search for the treasure—which is supposed to be worth \$100 million.

• MOVIES AHEAD: Underway are *How to Steal a Million Dollars and Live Happily Ever After*, with Audrey Hepburn, Peter O'Toole and lovable George C. Scott; *A Big Hand for the Little Lady*, Western starring Henry Fonda, Joanne Woodward, Jason Robards Jr., Burgess Meredith and Charles Bickford; another Disney for-the-whole-family thing called *Fighting Prince of Donegal*. . . . Latest entry from Mammary Lane is *Pajama Party in a Haunted House*, with Dean Martin's daughter yet.

The 40 Days of Musa Dagh, in the works for a year, now has a director, Guy Green, and may start shooting early in 1966. . . . Set for a December 20 opening in Rome is *Rodolfo Valentino*, stage musical starring Marcello Mastroianni. He'll also star in the planned film. . . . Sinatra's next is *Any Wednesday*, with Sandy Dennis playing the role she had on Broadway. . . . Irving Allen is obligated to Columbia for four films based on Donald Hamilton's "Matt Helm" adventure yarns.

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Grenadiers in Zululand

JEFFREY HART

THE ZULU WAR, essentially a contest over land, was crucial in the development of the southern part of the African continent, and its effects are still being felt. Donald R. Morris

The Washing of the Spears, by Donald R. Morris. Simon and Schuster, \$12.00

tells the story of the tough and colorful bands of white settlers, mainly Boers (which means "farmers") and Englishmen, who pushed north and east from Capetown during the early years of the nineteenth century, and established their farms in territory that was virtually empty, containing only a few Bushmen and their nomadic persecutors, the Hottentots. As the white settlers gradually moved the frontier forward, however, a great savage nation, quite unknown to them, was coming into being to the north.

Beginning in 1816, a remarkable chieftain named Shaka succeeded in transforming the Zulus, an obscure clan of 1,500, into a nation of two million, controlling hundreds of thousands of square miles. Undoubtedly a political and military genius, and a charismatic leader, Shaka was also homosexual, paranoid, and sadistic. His Zulu nation, military and expansionist, was in constant need of land for its enormous herds of cattle, and it was on a collision course with the whites pushing up from the south. In 1879, under his successor Cetshwayo, it was destroyed by the British army.

Unlike Morris, I find it difficult to have much sympathy for the Zulus, or regret over their defeat, fascinating though they are from an anthropological standpoint. Did the Zulu culture really deserve to exist? Fantastic cruelty was commonplace, and the Zulus lived in a veritable midnight of superstition. They believed universally in witchcraft, and a man accused by a witch-doctor would have sharp stakes pounded up his rectum, his entire extended family meanwhile being exterminated. The power of a chieftain like Shaka was absolute:

His rule was based on a fear so profound he could afford to ignore it. . .

He moved through his daily routine surrounded by a retinue that included a group of executioners, who, a dozen times daily, bashed in skulls or twisted necks at a flick of Shaka's hand. The lives he snuffed out in this fashion were guilty of no great crimes; they might have sneezed while he was eating, or made him laugh when he was serious. . . The people he killed meant no more to him than so many ants.

Shaka strangled noble infants with his own hands, fearing the potential rivalry of an heir; and indeed, to suffocate defective infants with a clod of mud was commonplace at all levels. The wars the Zulus fought were genocidal: the defeated tribe was exterminated, and the warriors had their abdomens sliced open and their genitals stuffed down their throats. Tribesmen converted to Christianity were summarily tossed into crocodile pools.

Against the English, the formidable Zulu armies scored one stunning success, almost completely wiping out a column of about a thousand whites and a thousand natives at Isandhlwana. The British commander — Durnford — had deployed his forces over too wide an area, and they were inundated by the Zulu human wave. ("Here they come, black as Hell and thick as grass!") Otherwise, the familiar British square, able to concentrate its rifle fire, prevailed inexorably.

The Washing of the Spears, a must for Empire buffs, is full of colorful characters, veterans of the Sepoy rebellion, the Crimea, the Khyber Pass, Afghanistan, adventurers, settlers, traders. Even John Colenso, the heretical Anglican Bishop of Natal, plays a prominent role. Among these colorful figures out on the borders of the empire my favorite, perhaps, was Evelyn Wood, who very much resembles Waugh's Ritchie-Hook, and was undoubtedly one of the most warlike characters who ever existed.



After running away from school to join up, he fought in virtually every English war of his time, beginning with the Crimea, where he got out of a hospital bed to take part in a charge, and, though propped on a mule, was the only Englishman to reach the Russian lines. During the Ashanti campaign he was hit at point blank range and the surgeons gave him up. "A few days later Wood walked out of the hospital in disgust and rejoined his unit at the head of the road, having staggered all night through a torrential downpour on the greasy mud track." They never bothered to extract the bullet.

APPROPRIATELY ENOUGH, the Zulu campaign was covered by Archibald Forbes of the *London Daily News*, a "short Scot with a great bow-wave

of a mustache," who seems to have lived most of his life on the firing-line. He had reported the Carlist War in Spain, assorted fighting in the Balkans and Afghanistan, and the Russo-Turkish War, and he was on intimate terms with most of the general staffs of Europe. His books bore such titles as *Glimpses Through the Cannon-Smoke* and *Barracks, Bivouacs and Battles*. "In 1900 he died in a feverish delirium in the arms of his editor, and his last words were 'Those guns, man, don't you see those guns? I tell you the brave fellows will be mowed down like grass!'"

And, of course, the victorious commander of the British force, Lord Chelmsford, loaded with honors by the Queen, died suddenly in 1905 in the middle of a billiards match at the United Service Club in London.

The Muse of History Hesitates

SIR SHANE LESLIE

BIOGRAPHY's real duty to the dead is to clarify which are worth making "live." Plutarch and Boswell are the models. The future of Asquith, though Gladstone's successor and the last premier ruling the British Em-

Asquith, by Roy Jenkins. Chilmark, \$7.95

pire like a Flavian emperor, is uncertain on the shelf of history. He managed the political war well between "Peers and People" by threatening to create hundreds of Lords; but he was unequal to the Great War. Nor indeed would his successor Lloyd George have done better, if it had not been for Woodrow Wilson's assistance.

Asquith was sunk by intrigues. His official family biography has also sunk since, and it remains to be seen if the sprightly Roy Jenkins can retrieve him like a frogman out of the depths. He writes attractively, but the first 24 chapters might be omitted for American readers. Gladstone's Home Rule for Ireland, the Jameson Raid, Kruger and his Boers have been overwritten in every life of the period.

Has Asquith's mummy wrapped in political speeches been laid in the Valhalla of History? He could orate but he wrote no prose. To a few picked women he wrote fascinating

letters. If only the old stuff could be changed for a full complement of all the letters he wrote to Frances Horner, wife Margot, Mrs. Harrison, and Venetia Stanley, whose Cleopatra-features adorn the book. A book of letters to Mrs. Harrison has been carefully edited and printed, but the intimate flood cast at Venetia's feet would reveal the true Asquith and no doubt the texture of heart as fine as his brains.

Two chapters on the "Irish imbroglio" before the war include the separate and desperate efforts by Speaker Lowther and King George to settle things in time. It all reads like erecting sand-castles with wooden spades and wooden minds—to be annihilated by a tidal wave. The historian may begin to gather judgment, for modern history begins with the war. Redmond frustrated German hopes when he offered Irish assistance dramatically to England. It was Asquith's chance to turn government over to Ireland. Chaos and civil war would then have been impossible, the Treaty would have been achieved eight years ahead.

WHEN THE WAR PROMISED to be lost after two years of wretched defeat, Asquith surrendered to the Tories. The price of coalition was two heads on a platter—his two most effective lieutenants, Churchill and Haldane.

Speaking Up . . .

West Coast students and club members can expect a barrage of prominent speakers this season. These include: Ralph de Tole-dano, former associate editor of *Newsweek* and now a nationally syndicated columnist; William A. Rusher, publisher of *National Review* and authoritative debater; Russell Kirk, author of *John Randolph of Roanoke* and editor of *University Bookman*; William F. Rickenbacker, senior editor of *National Review*; and L. Brent Bozell, author of *The Warren Court: A Dissenting Opinion*.

Additional engagements can be included in their West Coast appearances if you write now to Catherine Babcock. Early reservations will reduce costs by enabling us to make advance travel arrangements.

Available also this season for engagements on the West Coast and around the country are: Dr. Thomas Molnar, lecturer and author of *Africa: A Political Travelogue*; Frederick D. Wilhelmssen, lecturing on "The Coming Counterrevolution" and "States' Rights and the Christian Tradition"; Frank S. Meyer, senior editor of *National Review* and editor of the newly published *The African Nettle*; Dr. Anthony T. Bouscaren, writer, professor and author; and Ernest van den Haag, psychoanalyst, scholar and writer.

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The Tories hated them more than the Germans. When the time came, they undermined and destroyed Asquith forever. He fell back on the classics, on bridge and friends.

He was never an unhappy man even when he lost his seat in Parliament after 38 years. The King made him Earl of Oxford, but his university refused him as Oxford's Chancellor. He was philosopher enough to know he could not have everything. His life began poor and drab; readers must decide if it was a success story. He could not have known himself, and perhaps he was wise enough not to care. He made a fine choice of womenfolk and they did not fail him.

It is an extraordinary trait that in his hardest struggling days he gave his first wife a £300 necklace, though he had been educated by strict, dour Moravians.

THE ILLUSTRATIONS are chosen with sweet malignity: Churchill with Fisher, the colleague who brought him down with a crash from the Admiralty; Lloyd George like the evil Tempter himself puzzling the good Lord Derby; "The Exit of Haldane," and looking it; "A moment of indecision" between Kitchener and Grey; above all, the soothing sorcery of Venetia Stanley, whom one hopes he has met again.

but at least he is refreshingly honest when he says that "the abolition of war and the enforcement of peace will require most heavy costs in the shape of domination, not of individual, but of absolute group freedom and in an increase of supra-group authority." He warns that in order to enforce peace against rebels, we must expect much violence in the years ahead. "Rebels must have their heads cracked when their heads yield no reason."

SOME POLITICAL PHILOSOPHERS worship freedom, others authority, and still others constitutional order, or even monarchy. But George E. G. Catlin has enshrined democracy as his first principle. In domestic policy, the "Great Society" could almost have been modeled on his belief that legislators and executives in government are professional "producers" of goods demanded by the "consumer" public. The unanswered question in this theory is whether the legislative, or more specifically, the executive branch, is *instructing* the public as to what it should demand, or whether it is merely responding to spontaneous clamoring for welfare programs. This he conveniently glosses over. Although he acknowledges that there are tensions in a democracy (a split, or dissent among the consumers about what they want), he nevertheless propounds a theory of democracy which admits of no compromise with minority views. "The really vital thing in politics is the right to change one's political grocery store." He means that he regards political parties only as different sources of supply.

In all of this there is little political philosophy, save the concept that "what the people want" is the rule of politicians. Political "scientist" that he is, Catlin devotes a lot of thought to ways of finding out what the public

The Political Grocery Store

CAROL BAUMAN

IF FOR NO OTHER REASON, we can all be grateful to George E. Gordon Catlin for his minor role in the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. We can also be grateful that it was the

Political and Sociological Theory and Its Applications, by George E. G. Catlin. University of Michigan Press, \$3.95

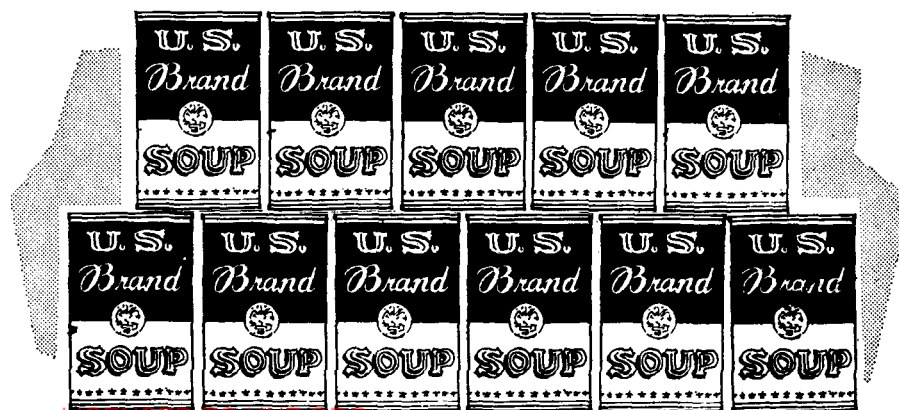
only time he had anything to do with changing the U.S. Constitution. This slim volume with its mouth-filling title contains four lectures delivered at the University of Washington in early 1964, plus an address at Santa Barbara given at the invitation of Robert Hutchins and the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

CATLIN'S POLITICAL THEORY begins with the division of politics, like Gaul, into three parts. First is the "art," or practice of politics; next is the philosophy; and third is the science, with which he likes to concern himself. Political practitioners, according to his theory, are merely "producers" of political goods, for which the public, or "political consumers," clamor. The political philosopher, as distinguished from the political scientist, studies what these consumers "ought" to want, while the scientist merely indulges in quantitative analysis of what they do want.

Applying his theory to the problems of peace and war, Catlin makes

a sharp attack on "unscientific and propagandist" activism, coupled with a plea for a supreme role for political science in the realm of international diplomacy. He sees greater need for peace institutes, such as the Conflict and Peace Research Institute in Britain, with which he has been associated. "The days of the national powers are over and the day of the super-powers alone has arrived," he says, arguing that peace will never be achieved so long as a solution is sought only on the basis of international law. The first step toward peace can only be the establishment of a *Pax Russo-Americana*, or *condominium* between the two great powers. Ultimately, of course, this will lead to a world authority with power to coerce the peace. "That it was contemplated at Yalta is no final objection to it," he adds.

Catlin proposes nothing startling with his plan for world government,



wants. The best way, he thinks is through polls, government-sponsored or commercial. Thus equipped, politicians are sure of approval by the electorate. There are scores of members of the House and Senate who have observed this principle for years, and it works. He even suggests (how seriously, it is hard to fathom) that upon reaching voting age, each citizen be presented, free, a transistor radio, in order to keep informed, and a "punch board" with red, yellow and green buttons, so that he can indicate approval, disapproval, or "a pox on both your houses," on specific proposals.

To accept Catlin's theory without reservations requires a phenomenal faith in the wisdom of mass rule. The supreme test of his sincerity would be to ask him if he would have accepted as "democratic" a national plebiscite in Nazi Germany in support of the Nazi leaders. "It is not the business of an authority to be 'better' than the democracy, or to presume to tell them what is good for them, or to set up standards apart from the people's judgment," he says soberly. But he also speaks of "a plural aristocracy which can guide our social behaviour and help shape our wants." Is this really democracy or a controlled oligarchy? A clue to just how democratic Mr. Catlin is is not very well hidden in this proposal: he would raise the voting age to a date after military service, perhaps to twenty-eight, and would permit no man to serve in any legislature unless he holds a diploma in political science, economics, law, or a like professional subject.

ON EDUCATION more inconsistencies emerge. He deplores permissiveness, which he fears is too prevalent in the West, and favors a return to the strict standards of the humanist tradition. He also favors the teaching of Marxism (his polite term for Communism) and anti-Marxism (or, as he says, similar critical ideas, including his own). He would then insist that by government decree the *Analects* of Confucius be taught in all the schools. (Just try suggesting that at your next PTA meeting!) His only serious objection to Communism is the element of coercion, but he advocates "governmental action" to force the teaching of the philosophy of Confucius. It would seem that it all depends on who is doing the coercing.

Minimal Religion

is in the field of Christian apologetics, but radically different; by a businessman; addressed to rationalists; simplifying and nonpietistic.

In the three major fields of religion, to wit,

**cosmology
ethics, and
theology**

the church continues to present its message in a medieval framework which does not speak to the modern world ideally.

There are two ultimate religions: Positivism and Christianity. The former says, DUST IS GOD; the latter says, A SUPREME BEING IS GOD.

Christianity can have no answer to the unsolvable problems of existence except it be founded on *revelation*. *Prayer* and *miracles* need a more rationalistic explanation than mystics give to them.

Similarly in ethics, there are only two systems: (1) you are your brother's keeper generally; or (2) your own (and your dependents') keeper (only). The former is the ethics of sanctimonious communism; the latter is the common-sense answer of Christianity. Christianity should give no place to pious blather, as Dostoevsky's,

"Everyone is really responsible to all men for all men for everything."

MINIMAL RELIGION rejects

1. Obscurantism in Cosmology;
2. Sanctimony in Ethics; and
3. Irrationality in Theology
(i.e., neglect or denial of the use of the principle of utility by God when making judgments).

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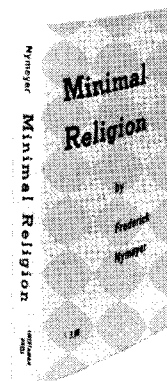
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Movies

Confessions of a Film Reviewer

FRANCIS RUSSELL

I MUST CONFESS that it is much more difficult for me to accept the illusion of reality in a moving picture than in a stage play or even in the stylized artificiality of the ballet. One trouble is that I have been in the studios and seen the pictures being made, and the most touching scene is usually spoiled for me by the thought of the cameras moving up on their dollies with the whole assortment of technicians, directors, assistants, make-up artists, off-duty extras, and so on, lurking in the background. Just a few short scenes take all day to shoot, and even these are usually not in sequence. An actor on the stage plays himself into his part, making it an artistic whole. One could never reach the same level piecemeal. I recall the story of a German actor who played Frederick the Great so convincingly that he finally came to think he was Frederick the Great. This continuity doesn't exist on celluloid. That is one reason, I think, why one remembers plays and forgets films.

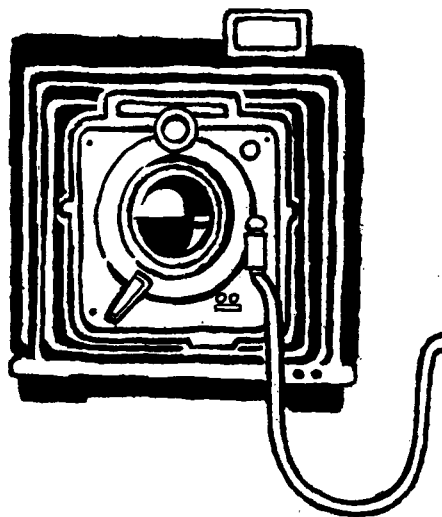
Films operate on a shallower level of consciousness. There is so much less effort required to return to the popcorn-scented womb and watch the reels unwind. I remember in the early part of World War II Canadian soldiers in England at their Maple Leaf Clubs were given tickets to London stage productions. Most of them were seeing the live theater for the first time in their lives, and they could not follow it. The pace was too fast, they were not used to the more concentrated attention that stage dialogue requires, their minds had been dulled by the Hollywood daydream. For the cinema is ephemeral. I find that I can remember the plays I have seen—even the inferior ones—for years; the films I forget for the most part in a few months.

Of course one can apply the dialectic of the New Criticism to the movies, but it still doesn't make them any more profound. Several years ago I read a long and intricate article in *Commentary* on the latest film version of *An American Tragedy*. Today I can't even remember the title—in fact the only thing I do remember is that

Shelley Winters was in it and a couple of loon-cries echoed across a lake. Yet, though it is over twenty-five years since I read Dreiser's ponderous book, I remember it very well indeed.

Beyond this I have a more private confession to make. Films have always made me seasick. A few scenes aboard ship send me staggering to the entrance, and even in the auto pursuit scenes I can control my digestion only by closing my eyes. Trains and planes are both too much for me. Years ago when I saw *Man of Aran*—and a very good picture it was too—I had to go home and go to bed.

Of all the pictures I have seen in the sixties a few have managed to make me forget the cameras and the directors, have given me at least the momentary illusion of participating in some actuality. I think particularly



of *The Greek Passion* and that touchingly simple Russian story of the war, *Ballad of a Soldier*. My last such was *A Taste of Honey*. I have been told that Shelagh Delaney's stage play was better than the film, but I did not see it and I have not read it. All I know is that the film rang true, in dialogue and situation and milieu. There were the English slums such as I had often walked through, the grim northern city, grey in the rain as I remembered such northern cities. Never had I expected to find a homosexual character sympathetic, but the one in this film was. The scene at the end was haunting, where the children

burned the Guy on November 5th. And Rita Tushingham, ugly as she is, with her ungainly body and long nose and crooked teeth, had a depth of femaleness to her that the Jayne Mansfields of this world can never approach. Those extraordinarily luminous eyes. So impressed was I that I saw the picture again when I was in Düsseldorf, and she was still overwhelming even with dubbed German dialogue.

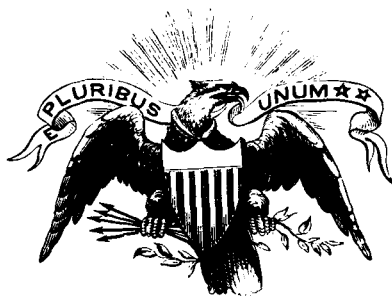
Consider me a charter member of the Wellesley Hills branch, Rita Tushingham Associated Fan Clubs. Somehow I missed *The Girl With The Green Eyes*, and regretted it the more since it was filmed in Dublin—one of the half dozen cities in the world I know best. Not having seen Rita Tushingham in three years I was looking forward to *The Knack* when it—like most things—came belatedly to Boston. All the advance publicity, all that ya-ya-ya by the director, Richard Lester, who made the film about the Beatles. I am sorry, but *The Knack* is a poor joke—vulgar, pretentious, boring. Its wit as expressed in *non sequiturs* and film tricks is about on the level of my adolescent efforts at home movies, when I and my friends considered it the height of hilarity to make a sequence of someone spitting and then run it on the screen backwards.

I understand that *The Knack* was adapted from a London stage hit. Well, that in itself merely proves that London has a large population. *Worm's Eye View*, that alleged farce about the RAF, ran there for something over seven years. *The Knack* is not so much a story as a demonstration of the knack of seduction possessed by one young Londoner, living in a lodging house owned by another who doesn't possess it. Rita Tushingham arrives in London as the country innocent, looking for the YWCA, falls in with the bachelors, and of course ends up with the one who didn't have the knack. On this slender thread, plus the junkyard purchase of a cast-iron bed, are strung some of the feeblest gags and blobbiest sex bits I have encountered in some time. I did manage to laugh twice: once when the bed was being towed through London and ended up in an automatic car-wash; the other when the knackless one found his bathroom occupied by several dozen sirens. Perhaps I shouldn't have laughed. Oh, it's obvious from this

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film that on both sides of the Atlantic the old grey censor ain't what he used to be. But I am still led to conclude that Director Lester and Producer Oscar Lewenstein loom about ten times as clever in their own estimation as they really are.

Of course Rita Tushingham is herself in any role, with her awkwardness and her ugly mug and her bewitching eyes. I'm not resigning from the club. But when I am faced with the notice that *The Knack* is for adults only, I can merely reply—not for this adult.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE TWO FACES OF APARTHEID, by Paul Giniewski (Regnery, \$5.95). Pub-date had barely passed before the hounds of professional Liberalism got their teeth into this landmark study of South Africa's national policy of separate development; *Library Journal's* fatuous (or malicious—take your pick) reviewer even went so far as to impute "bias and prejudice" to the author—a French journalist-scholar known throughout Europe and Britain for his sincerity and impartiality. The mudslinging derives, of course, from Liberalism's "democracy and damn the consequences" monomania, not from anything radical or reactionary in *The Two Faces*. The author, in fact, bestows withering criticism as well as high praise, as his perceptive eye scans and probes the horizontal and vertical coordinates of South Africa's crash program to lead its Bantu peoples to self-sufficiency and nationhood. Giniewski's scholarship is impeccable, and his style is rich with grace and imaginativeness: "When building a ship, [finding] the exact location of the center of gravity is the most complicated operation; computers have to be assisted by the intuition and experience of proficient technicians. A nation is not the inert mass of steel of a transatlantic liner, whose weight and measurements are decided at will. When you compute with human beings, expect your calculations to be shattered by the unexpected variation of human nature." While *LJ's* anathema will probably enjoin libraries from stocking it (something *NR* readers could rectify), Giniewski's book stands as a definitive study, full of realistic

proposals for additional social reform, and a hallmark of thoroughly enjoyable, honest journalism.

J. G. CAMPAIGNE JR.

THE FREE MARKET AND ITS ENEMY, by Leonard E. Read (Foundation for Economic Education, \$1.75). Mr. Read argues that "know-it-allness" is the enemy of the free market; that the free market arises only when the people are humble enough to throw themselves on the mercy of an economy guided only by the invisible force of the price mechanism. An interesting thesis, presented in Mr. Read's unfailing blandness and good manners. There comes a time when a man must be respected in his sheer persistence. For Mr. Read that time is now. Bless him. He drippeth the drop which weareth down stone.

W. F. RICKENBACKER

To the Editor

(Continued from p. 852)

remarkably quick one without the Civil War. But weren't there massive cultural forces and, to a lesser extent, geographical forces combining to produce a Civil War?

New Rochelle, N.Y. WILLIAM KLEIN III

Ironically enough, the Republican Party in Lincoln's day did advocate a stronger Federal Government and Lincoln was elected on that platform. But I like to believe that the Union was at stake and the rights of men were vindicated by the abolition of African slavery. One of our strongest arguments against the Liberals is that they, not we, are re-writing our textbooks to cast doubt on the reliability of our heroes.

Oakland, Calif. ALICE L. RIGGS

Since it now appears that the likelihood of reintroducing traditional conservative values in our nation's political and social life is virtually nonexistent for the remainder of this century, it is doubly important that we develop a school of historians with the courage to point out where our experiment with federalism went wrong. Perhaps future generations will benefit.

Houston, Minn. G. DANIEL HARDEN

A Reply

The heavy correspondence on my column, "Lincoln without Rhetoric," a typical cross section of which is excerpted above, has been extremely interesting. The criticisms have taken two forms.

The one has accused me of unconserva-

tive behavior in questioning an American legend. To these writers I can only reply that American conservatives have to distinguish, as Richard Weaver has said, between traditions when they clash; it is my belief that the Lincoln tradition clashes head on with the Constitutional tradition.

Of the second criticism, Professor Paolucci is a distinguished and impassioned advocate. His Lincoln is precisely the man I was attacking in my column—and to this degree Professor Paolucci has confirmed my thesis, not confuted it. His identification of the Nation as the supreme value and of the Chief Executive as its high priest is the very type of political theory and practice which the Founders of the Republic and Framers of the Constitution regarded as the greatest of political evils.

It is my belief that Lincoln—less obviously perhaps than Professor Paolucci—can be ranged among the disciples of this concept, a concept which is the polar opposite of the central American Constitutional tradition of tension, balance, and freedom. I would maintain that Professor Paolucci's theoretical position, like Lincoln's political action, can be considered "conservative" only in the sense of the nineteenth century European authoritarian conservatism—the tradition of Maistre and Hegel, which has as little in common with the tradition of American conservatism as the egalitarianism of the French Revolution and the relativism of nineteenth-century liberalism. A Chief Executive "enslaving freemen . . . for the safety of the nation" (Professor Paolucci's words), or for any other end, would be as much our enemy as Hitler or Stalin.

As for Professor Harry Jaffa's longer and learned defense of the imposition of equality by centralized government [*NR*, Sept. 21], my head is bloody but unbowed. I shall answer him in these pages in due course.

Woodstock, N.Y. FRANK S. MEYER

No Teacher, He

As one of your new book reviewers I am delighted to see that you did not change my review ["Power and the Intellectuals"] in your September 7 issue. But why did you change my profession in introducing me to your readers? I am not a high school teacher. I taught philosophy for several years, but even so I am now a social science editor on an encyclopedia and have not had chalk dust in my hair for some time.

Woodhaven, N.Y. E. H. WALL

Hazlitt on Keynes

Henry Hazlitt's June 1 review of Veritas Foundation's two books omitted the customary reference data: *Keynes at Harvard—Economic Deception as a Political Credo* (1960), 114 pp. Hard cover \$3.00,

paperback \$2.00. *The Great Deceit—Social Pseudo-Sciences* (1965), 354 pp. Hard cover \$5.00, paperback (sewn binding) \$3.75. Veritas Foundation, West Sayville, New York.

Hazlitt misinterprets our two studies. *Keynes at Harvard* did not technically analyze Keynes' economic theories. *The Great Deceit* reveals the socialistic influence behind history, anthropology, sociology and jurisprudence. We assumed (like *NATIONAL REVIEW*'s June 1 editorial) that "Socialism has long since been discredited intellectually."

We demonstrated how deceitfully this false philosophy permeated American thinking through the pseudo-social sciences created and controlled by Fabians, who twisted both facts and theories to fit their preconceived socialist notions.

Hazlitt blames us for calling Schumpeter a Socialist. The original German edition of Schumpeter's *Kapitalismus-Sozialismus und Demokratie* (1946) flatly so states; besides, Schumpeter was Finance Minister in the American-Socialist government. Schumpeter (more expert than Hazlitt in social semantics) affirmed Alfred Marshall's Fabian socialism.

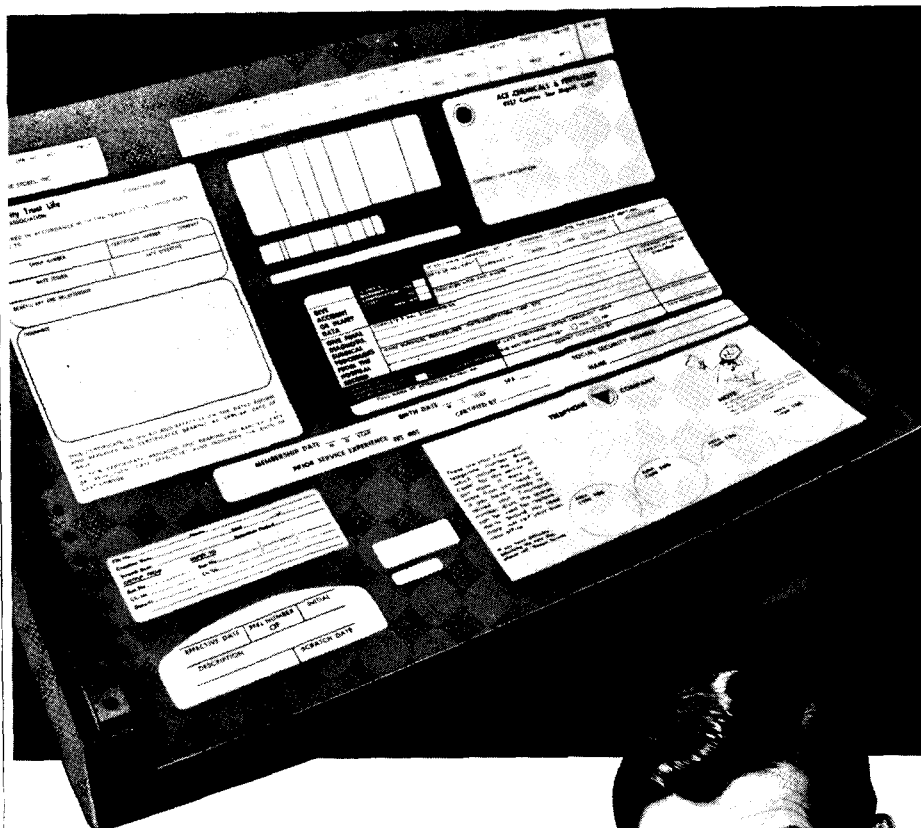
Hazlitt wrongly accuses us of mistaking confusion for conspiracy. But we compared the great Fabian-Socialist-Marxist-Communist complex not to a centralized conspiracy, but to an amorphous Hydra-headed political Mafia, quoting Whittaker Chambers in *Witness*: "The simple fact is that when I took up my little sling and aimed at Communism, I also hit something else. What I hit was the forces of that great socialist revolution, which, in the name of Liberalism, spasmodically, incompletely, somewhat formlessly, but always in the same direction, has been inching its icecap over the nation for two decades." Chambers added: "Though I knew it existed, I still had no adequate idea of its extent, the depth of its penetration or the fierce vindictiveness of its revolutionary temper."

The free world ignored the clear world-enslavement boasts of Hitler, and of Lenin and his successors. We must not stupidly disregard the repeated warnings of the Fabian Socialists, such as Bernard Shaw's notorious "Wolves in Sheep's Clothing" window—the frontispiece of *The Great Deceit*.

The Fabians are good examples of successful leftist conspiracy. Themselves single-minded schemers, they are adept at confusing and dividing their freedom-loving adversaries, preparatory to disposing of them either with violence or the slower strangulation of creeping socialism.

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TRANS-O-GRAM

by Svend Petersen

- DEFINITIONS**
- A. Cornelia's jewels
- B. Moral principles
- C. Midday
- D. An exile
- E. Fissures
- F. All roads lead to Rome, including this one (2 wds.)
- G. French novelist's pseudonym
- H. A bone in the wrist at the end of the forefinger
- I. GOP Chairman when it lost 75 House seats (Dems split 3-way)
- J. Any incident or event
- K. Little guys who played big role in American Revolution
- L. He was a king at birth but not at death
- M. Sherlock Holmes' nickname for character in Study in Scarlet (hyph)
- N. Unscramble POLAR FOIL
- O. A Russian mcXim

- WORDS**
- 84 131 144 203 218 80 136
- 99 160 119 210 145 137
- 149 78 175 93 173 161 102 38
- 154 156 51 139 146 176 192 167 186 81
- 168 141 27 219 189
- 190 52 68 147 200 172 196 194 151
- 191 28 79 54
- 209 29 202 74 103 88 82 220 164
- 2 41 96 153 110 4 20 169 179
- 5 21 39 129 69 83 111 104 55 120
- 23 70 6 159 105 43 170 124 212
- 30 133 62 97 71 7 94
- 42 128 22 56 112 143 8 148 155 63
- 48 166 205 9 199 95 64 221 75
- 53 44 10 98 188 49 204 142

- DEFINITIONS**
- P. Pertaining to part of Greece (not the upper part)
- Q. What we should tell left-wing extremists (phrase)
- R. Formed by solidification of magma at the surface
- S. Walter Johnson's specialty (113)
- T. Former Italian colony
- U. What some people hate to pay
- V. Bankers' hours are kept on this London street
- W. To adorn or embellish
- X. Headquarters of Small Business (2 wds.)
- Y. Nation not settled by Moses' brother
- Z. Words used to denote obligation of honorable and generous behavior
- AA. Characteristic of taxis
- 108 45 57 87 72
- 222 11 106 125 113 211 178 213 65
- 3 214 215 184 174 46 162 24
- 17 180 207 1 107 216 12
- 33 100 16 208 183 32 13 114 40 25
- 58 85
- 116 26 121 76 86 140 34 14 101
- 118 115 126 157 89 67 15 193 197 19
- 138 171
- 134 35 177 59 47 109
- 123 18 73 60 195 90 185 36 127 117
- 181 206 91 217
- 66 61 37 198 132 187 201 163 92 150
- 31 122 135 165
- 77 50 158 152 130 182

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black lines indicating the end of a word); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of Webster's New International Dictionary, Second Edition.

		1 S	2 I	3 R		4 I	5 J	6 K	7 L	8 M	9 N	10 O	11 Q	12 S	13 T	14 U
15 V		16 T	17 S		18 X		19 V	20 I	21 J	22 M	23 K	24 R	25 T	26 U		27 E
28 G	29 H		30 L	31 Z	32 T		33 T	34 U	35 W	36 X		37 Z	38 C	39 J	40 T	41 I
42 M	43 K		44 O	45 P		46 R	47 W		48 N	49 O		50 A	51 D	52 F	53 O	54 G
55 J	56 M	57 P	58 T	59 W	60 X		61 Z	62 L		63 M	64 N	65 Q	66 Z	67 V		68 F
69 J	70 K	71 L	72 P	73 X	74 H	75 N	76 U		77 A	78 C		79 G	80 A	81 D		82 H
83 J	84 A	85 T	86 U	87 P	88 H	89 V	90 X	91 Y	92 Z	93 C		94 L	95 N		96 I	97 L
98 O	99 B	100 T	101 U	102 C	103 H	104 J	105 K		106 Q	107 S		108 P	109 W	110 I	111 J	112 M
113 Q		114 T	115 V	116 U	117 X		118 V	119 B	120 J		121 U	122 Z	123 X	124 K	125 Q	
126 V	127 X	128 M	129 J	130 A	131 A	132 Z		133 L	134 W	135 Z	136 A	137 B	138 V	139 D	140 U	141 E
142 Q	143 M		144 A	145 B	146 D	147 F	148 M	149 C		150 Z	151 F		152 A	153 I	154 D	
155 M	156 D	157 V	158 A	159 K	160 B	161 C	162 R	163 Z		164 H	165 Z	166 N	167 D	168 E	169 I	170 K
171 V	172 F	173 C	174 R		175 C	176 D		177 W	178 Q		179 I	180 S	181 Y		182 A	183 T
184 R	185 X	186 D	187 Z		188 Q	189 E		190 F		191 G	192 D	193 V		194 F	195 X	
196 F	197 V	198 Z	199 N		200 F	201 Z		202 H		203 A	204 Q	205 N	206 Y	207 S	208 T	209 H
210 B	211 Q	212 K		213 I	214 R		215 R	216 S	217 Y	218 A	219 E	220 H	221 N	222 Q		

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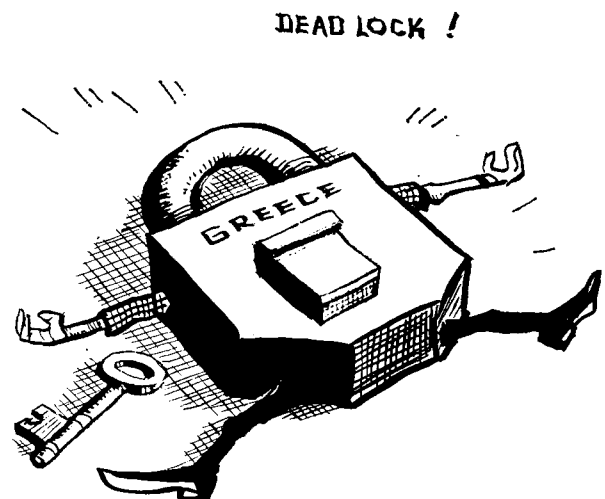
For The Record

Voices of Moderation: Sen. Thomas Kuchel (R., Cal.), as he pulled out of gubernatorial primary against front-running Ronald Reagan, blasted right wing of GOP in these terms: "[It is a] fanatical, neo-fascist, political cult, overcome by a strange mixture of corrosive hatred and sickening fear, recklessly determined to control our Party or to destroy it." . . . John Bailey, Democratic National Chairman, urging Democrats to use discredited Group Research Inc. for source material against rightists (some rightists GRI has dossiers on: Gen. Eisenhower, Gen. Omar Bradley, Astronaut John Glenn). GRI, which works closely with AFL-CIO COPE, reportedly in trouble financially; Bailey bid to Democrats to use its services could be move to get it back into black. . . . Gov. Mark Hatfield of Ore., who might run for Sen. Maurine Neuberger's seat next year, becoming a fighting Dove, to wit: the Johnson Administration's policy in Vietnam contains "horrendous possibilities of miscalculation and errors of judgment which could trigger WW III or at least a vast Asian land war."

National Guardian reports 2,000 members of Cuban assault brigade that took part in Bay of Pigs have volunteered to fight in Vietnam. In a letter to LBJ, they wrote: "We wish to represent the people of Cuba on the battlefields of Vietnam. The fighting in Vietnam is part of our fight." . . . A fascinating Der Spiegel news item holds that Russian weapons shipped across China to North Vietnam are now at long last moving smoothly, the Soviets having agreed to pay the transport charges in Swiss francs. . . . Atrocity count: Since 1964 Vietcong guerrillas have killed, wounded or kidnaped 20,300 Vietnamese civilians, including 2,300 village headmen, teachers and officials. . . . Retreating Vietcong forces have taken to beheading their Vietnamese prisoners when pressed too closely by government forces.

Counter-insurgency: the Government Accounting Office is preparing to investigate War on Poverty, to check on possible waste, graft, negligence in Job Corps camps, Community Action Programs. . . . Maybe it should look at latest Pentagon brochure describing Sec. McNamara's cost-cutting procedures. Brochure itself cost an estimated \$50 thou. . . . Official figures on Dominican Republic operation show it cost \$67 million from April through mid-September.

Trial of three students who violated State Department ban on travel to Cuba scheduled to open this week. Two, Levi



Picciol, Calcutta

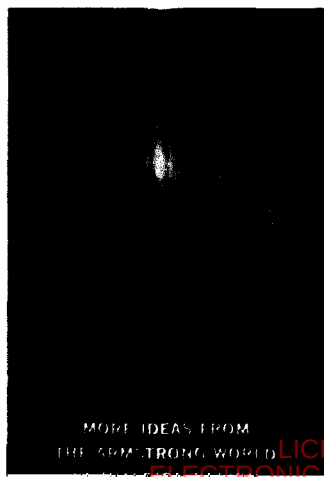
Ben Roth Agency

Laub and Steve Martinot, defended by Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. The third, Phillip Abbott Luce, asking to be tried separately. Luce pulled out of Peking-oriented Progressive Labor Party last spring, wrote piece for SatEvePost: "Why I Quit the Extreme Left."

Aux armes, les zéro zéro sept! French spies enraged at failure of de Gaulle government to increase Secret Service allotment in 1966 budget.



Inspiration: Land of the Midnight Sun. Floor: Montana Vinyl Corlon



Rustic simplicity, clean lines, and a natural look are features of Finnish decorating—and of this new floor from Armstrong: Montana Vinyl Corlon.

Montana is made of stone-like chips of vinyl veined with color. They are set in deep, translucent vinyl to create intriguing, pebbly texture.

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Because Montana comes in wide rolls, there's scarcely a seam, wall to wall.

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IDEA BOOKLET! "The Armstrong World of Interior Design"—24 color pages of internationally inspired rooms full of decorating ideas you can use to make your home more attractive and inviting. Send 25¢ to Armstrong, 6510 Weston Road, Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Floor shown: style 86703. Montana® and Corlon® are trademarks of Armstrong Cork Co.

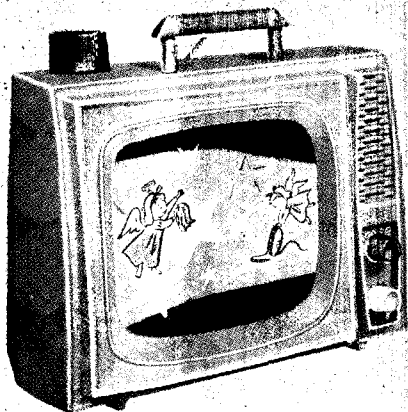
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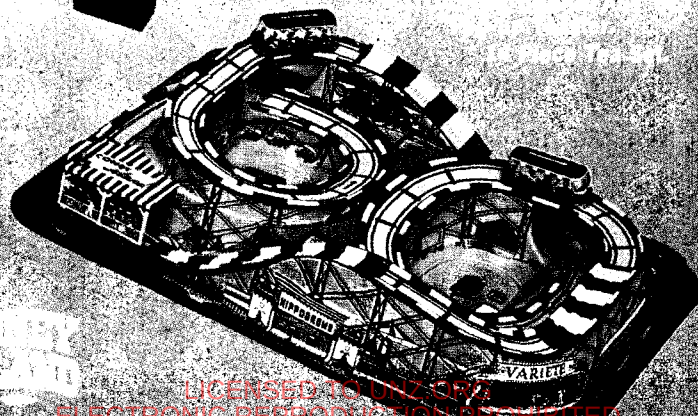
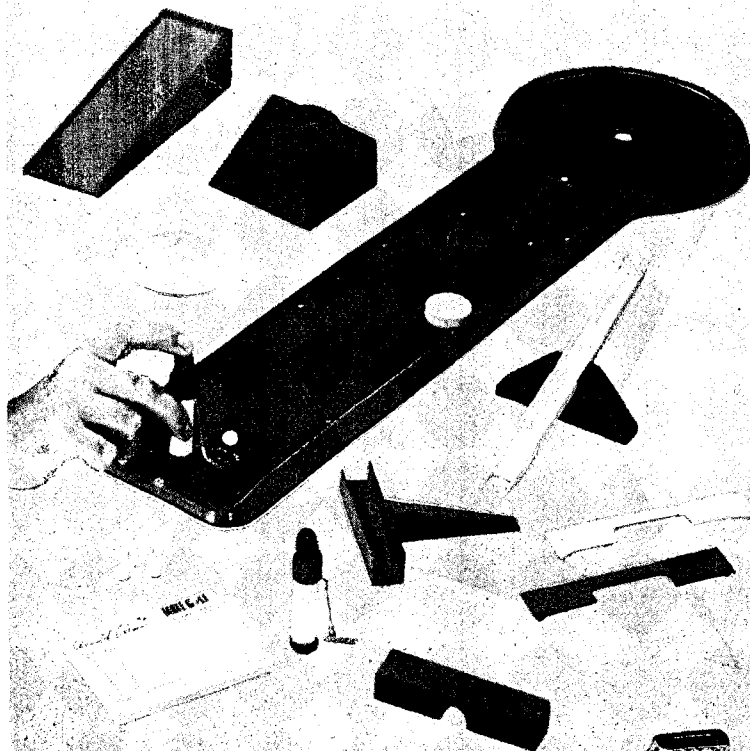
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